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John Adams

MEMOIRS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND.

FROM THE

Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament of CHARLES II. until the Sea-Battle off LA HOGUE.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

Conſiſting chiefly of

LETTERS from the French Ambaſſadors in England, to their Court; and from Charles II. James II. King William and Queen Mary, and the Miniſters and Generals of thoſe Princes.

Taken from the

Depôt des Affaires etrangeres at VERSAILLES, and King WILLIAM's private Cabinet at KENSINGTON.

Interſperſed with Hiſtorical Relations, neceſſary to connect the Papers together.

By Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE, Bart.

Ne quid falſi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat. CICERO.

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OF

GREAT-BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

PART THE FIRST.

APPENDIX.

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.—Vexed that Argyle's ſhips have eſcaped.

May 12, 1685.

ON Saturday laſt I had yours of the 15th, by which I ſee the orders were given for ſending thoſe fugitives out of your country, and I make no doubt but that you will do your part to have it well put in execution, you ſeeing how neceſſary it is it ſhould be done. I ſee, by the ſame letters, how vexed you are, that the three ſhips, laden with arms and ammunition, from Amſterdam, got out to ſea, notwithſtanding the orders you had given to ſtop them. I hope you will do your part that no more follow them, and that you will endeavour to know whether the Duke of Monmouth be gone with them, or remains ſtill in Holland, as it is reported. I have ſent all the neceſſary orders both into Scotland and Ireland, in caſe they land there, and for England, I ſuppoſe, they will hardly think of doing it. As for other matters, all things continue very quiet here; and the parliament being ſo near, I have ſo much buſineſs upon my hands, that I have not time to ſay more, but that you ſhall ſtill find me as kind as you can deſire.

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——On the ſame ſubject.

Whitehall, May 19, 1685.

I HAVE now two of yours to anſwer, the one of the 22d, the other of the 25th, and do eaſily believe if you had been at the Hague, the Lord Argyle,

with his three ſhips, had not got out; and ſee, by the ſame letter, that what I had deſired of the States, concerning my fugitive ſubjects was ordered, which I take as kindly as can be deſired, and as you ſay, I am ſure you will look to its being well executed. Lord Treaſurer ſhewed me the paper you mentioned in yours of the 25th: I believe the intelligence is true, and the rather, becauſe yeſterday I had letters from Scotland that gave me an account of Lord Argyle's having been at the Iſle of Orkney, in his way towards the weſt of Scotland, or north of Ireland: he ſailed from thoſe iſles the 8th, old ſtile, ſo that I expect every day to hear of his being landed. I have reaſon to believe the phanatick party have a deſign to riſe if they can in ſome part of England, and that the Duke of Monmouth is already privately here; I am taking the beſt care I can to prevent it; and now you ſee how little truſt is to be given to what the Duke of Monmouth ſays. The parliament meet this day, the Lords were all ſworn, the Commons choſe their Speaker, I approved him, but it will be Friday before they can enter upon any buſineſs, for till then they will hardly have made an end of ſwearing and taking the teſt. I have not time to ſay more, but to aſſure you, you ſhall always find me as kind to you as you can deſire.

James IId to the Prince of Orange.—Deſires three Scotch regiments to be ſent to Scotland.

Whitehall, May 22, 1685.

YOU will hear from others how well the parliament have behaved themſelves this day, after I ſpoke to them, ſo that I need not repeat it. This morning I had letters from Scotland, which gave me an account that Argyle was landed at a place called Dunſtafnage, in the ſhire of Lorne, in the weſt Highlands, where, with the help of the arms he carried with him, and the intereſt he had heretofore in that part of the country, I believe

I believe he will get a good number of diſaffected men together; and though I make no doubt, by God's help, that the rebels will ſoon be maſtered, yet there is no harm of providing for the worſt, and therefore I have charged Mr. Skelton to propoſe to you, the lending me the three Scotch regiments that are in your ſervice, to be ſent over into Scotland; and if this is a thing you can do, the ſooner it is done, the more reaſon I ſhall have to take it very kindly of you. What elſe I have to ſay I muſt refer to him, not having time to ſay more, but that you ſhall always find me as kind to you as you can deſire.

James IId to the Prince of Orange.—Refuſes to accept the Prince's offer to go to Scotland with the Scotch regiments.

Whitehall, June 2, 1685.

LAST night I had yours of the 5th, by which I ſee you had received mine, in which I deſired you to lend me the three Scotch regiments to be ſent to Scotland, and was the next day to propoſe it to the States, which, I hope, by the next, to hear that they agreed to; for though I have reaſon to believe, that the rebels there will be in time reduced, yet ſuch a body of good men as thoſe three regiments are, will help very much towards it. I take very kindly of you what you offer concerning yourſelf; but beſides that you cannot be ſpared from where you are, this rebellion of Argyle is not conſiderable enough for you to be troubled with it; however, I am as much obliged to you, as if I had accepted of the offer you made me as to yourſelf. The laſt letters I had from Scotland were of the 28th, which gave me an account that Argyle was in Kintire, and had ſummoned all his men to come thither to him on the 26th; ſo that I am apt to believe, that if ſome of the frigates I ſent for that coaſt have not got thither by that time, that he is by this landed in Ayre or Gallo-

way, or ſome of the weſtern ſhires, which is the only thing he has to do; but the parliament having done ſo well, and all things being ſo quiet here, will diſcourage all the rebels whereſoever they are. My daughter, the Princeſs of Denmark, was this day brought to bed of a girl. I have not time to ſay more now, but to aſſure you I ſhall always be as kind to you as you can deſire.

James the Second to the Prince of Orange. — Account of Argyle's motions.

Whitehall, June 5, 1685.

ON Wedneſday night I received yours of the 9th, by which I ſee how much I am obliged to you and the States, for lending me the three Scotch regiments, which I always acknowledge to be a very great obligation. I ordered immediately a man of war from the Downs to make the beſt of her way to ſee if ſhe could get time enough to the mouth of the Maeſe to convoy them to Leith. As for the rebels in Scotland, by letters I had from thence yeſterday morning, of 31ſt, from Edinburgh, and the 30th from Aire, from Lord Dumbarton, I heard that Argyle was making a ſhew to land at Largs in Cunningham, which is about twenty miles from Glaſgow, and that Lord Dumbarton was marching thither with the troops he had with him; but I am apt to believe it is but a feint, and that Argyle only does it to draw Lord Dumbarton as far as he can from Galloway, and then go with all the men he has thither in his ſhips and boats, by which means he may get thither four or five days at leaſt before Dumbarton can be with him, and increaſe his numbers with the common people of that country, which are moſt of them of his mind; and this ſure is the beſt party he can take, if ſome of my frigates be not there time enough to hinder him. I expect this night, or to-morrow, to hear more from thence, and very ſoon what is become of the Duke of Monmouth, and the ſhip he bought at Amſterdam.

All

All things are, God be thanked, very quiet here, and the ſeveral countries ſeem very ready to draw together and oppoſe him whereſoever he land. Yeſterday, a letter from Poole in Dorſetſhire, for an officer of the cuſtomhouſe, informed, that a frigate of mine on that coaſt had taken a veſſel with four or five thouſand arms in it; but hearing nothing more of it this day, I doubt of the truth of it. My daughter, the Princeſs of Denmark, was taken ill this morning, having had vapours, and other accidents which ſometimes trouble women in her condition, which frighted us at firſt; but now, God be thanked, our fears are over: ſhe took ſome ordinary remedies, and has ſlept after them moſt of this afternoon and evening, and is in a very good way; which is all I ſhall ſay to you now, but to aſſure you of my being as kind to you as you can deſire.

James the Second to the Prince of Orange.——Account of Argyle and Monmouth.

Whitehall, June 12, 1685.

I Have received your's of the 15th, in which you give me an account of your having ſeen the Scotch regiments. I thank you for the care you took of appointing a convoy for them, though I believe the frigate I ſent for the ſame purpoſe, got to the mouth of the Maeſe before they were ready to ſail. I do not hear any thing of the Duke of Monmouth ſince he ſailed from the Texel; if he be gone through the channel for Scotland, ſome of my frigates, that I have ſent that way, may chance to light on him; if he had deſigned to have landed any where in the weſt of England, as ſome thought he intended, as the winds have been ſince he ſailed, I muſt have heard of it; ſo that I think he muſt be gone for Scotland, through St. George's Channel, or intends to land ſomewhere in Cheſhire, or Lancaſhire, where I have taken the beſt care I can to hinder his doing much harm. From Scotland I had news, that

Argyle, inſtead of landing at Largs on the main, was gone to the Iſle of Bute, and that three of my frigates were come to the road before Aire on the 5th; and that within two or three days they deſigned to attack Argyle's ſhips, of which I expect very ſoon an account, and believe, he, Lord Argyle, will be in an ill condition before Monmouth get up to join him. All things, God be thanked, continue very quiet here. I thought to have ſaid more, but have not now time to do it, and aſſure you I ſhall always be as kind to you as you can deſire.

James the Second to the Prince of Orange.—The Duke of Monmouth's motions.

Whitehall, June 15, 1685.

THOUGH the Duke of Monmouth landed at Lyme in Dorſetſhire on Thurſday evening, I got not notice of it till Saturday morning; he found nobody in the town, I mean of the militia, and ſo poſſeſſed himſelf of it: beſides the ſhip he was in himſelf, there came with him two other ſhips of about one hundred ton each; and by what I have been yet informed of, I do not hear he brought on ſhore with him above two hundred men, ſince which ſeveral of the common ſort of people have flocked in to him, who he has armed, having brought with him great ſtore, and by a ſpy I had lately amongſt them, they give out they are three thouſand, but he tells me they are not half ſo ſtrong, and that then there was never a gentleman came in to him, but one Trenchard that I had ſent to ſeize ſome days before Monmouth's landing, and had got away, and was one of the late conſpiracy with him, and had got out upon the Habeas Corpus act. The militia of the neighbouring countries are by this got together, and marching to him, and I have ſent down nine companies of foot, four troops of horſe, two of dragoons, which are all to be at Saliſbury by to-morrow night, with ſeven

ſeven ſmall field-pieces, to march forward if occaſion be. There has been ſome little fighting already between the rebels and ſome of the Dorſetſhire militia, at a place called Bridport, ſome three miles from Lyme, into which quarter, ſome two hundred foot, and one hundred horſe of the rebels fell, and at firſt killed one Mr. Strangavais, and another gentleman, and took two or three more; but more help coming to the militia, they beat back the rebels, killed ſome, and took five, with ſeveral arms they flung away in their haſty retreat. This happened on Saturday, and every moment I expect to hear of ſome more action, and in a few days I hope to ſend you a good account of this affair. He now takes upon him to be King, as you will ſee by the declaration he has put out, which by order of the Lords was burnt by the hands of the hangman. Sure there was never a more lying, malicious paper than that. I was this day at the parliament in my robes, to paſs two money bills, two private ones, and another for attainting of the Duke of Monmouth, and I hope, in a few days, he will not be in a very good condition. I have not time to ſay any more, but to aſſure you of my being as kind to you as you can deſire. I had forgot to tell you I had received yours of the 19th."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.—Deſires the three Engliſh regiments to be ſent over, becauſe Monmouth is advancing.

Whitehall, June 17, 1685.

"WHEN I wrote to you yeſterday, I thought the militia would have kept the Duke of Monmouth ſhut up within Lyme, but by the fault of thoſe of Devonſhire or Somerſetſhire, he has opened his way towards Taunton, which is a very factious town, and where he may increaſe his numbers; and though with thoſe troops I have raiſed, and am raiſing, I make no doubt of maſtering him in ſome ſmall time, yet

yet to make all ſure, I deſire you to lend me the three Engliſh regiments that are in your ſervice, and they may be ſent over with all poſſible ſpeed. I have charged Mr. Skelton to ſpeak to you at large upon this affair, and ſo ſhall ſay no more but to aſſure you of my being as kind to you as you can deſire."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Monmouth's motions.

Whitehall, June 19, 1685.

"THE rebels, by the fault of the country militia, have opened their way to Taunton, where their numbers will no doubt increaſe. It was laſt night, as I am informed, before the Duke of Monmouth got thither. The Lord Churchill with ſome of my horſe and dragoons, with the militia of Dorſetſhire, were to join the Duke of Albemarle with his Devonſhire men to follow the rebels to-morrow. I intend to ſend Lord Feverſham with three battalions of the foot guards, one hundred and fifty of the horſe guards, ſixty grenadiers on horſeback, two troops of horſe, and two of dragoons, to march towards the rebels. I am raiſing ſtore of horſe and foot, and men come in very faſt, and the nobility and gentry are very zealous for my ſervice; and offer me to raiſe me men enough, they being very ſenſible, that they deſign nothing leſs than their deſtruction, as well as that of the monarchy; but by God's aſſiſtance, I make no doubt in ſome time to put an end to this rebellion. I have not time to ſay more at preſent, but that I ſhall always be as kind to you as you can deſire."

James

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——On the ſame ſubject.

Whitehall, June 23, 1685.

"THE Holland letters are not yet come, but the wind being now good, expect them every hour. As for news, the Gazette will tell you all that was here till it came out, concerning the Duke of Monmouth, who was then at Taunton; but by letters I had this morning from the Duke of Albemarle from Wellington, I hear, that he, the Duke of Monmouth, was marched from Taunton to Bridgewater, and ſo intended to continue his march towards Briſtol, where, I believe, he will find good reſiſtance, for, by this, Lord Feverſham, with the horſe and dragoons with him, may be either at Briſtol or the Bath, as he pleaſes, and will have with him ſeveral of the militia troops, who when alone do not do well, but will make a good ſhow and fight, when they have old troops to ſhew them the way. Lord Churchill will be up with Lord Feverſham within a day or two, and then there will be likelihood of ſome action, which I make no doubt, by God's bleſſing, will be for my advantage. In the mean time I am getting what troops I can together here, to be in a good poſture. The Duke of Monmouth now has taken upon him the title of King, and ſigns as I do, and wrote the other day to the Duke of Albemarle to perſuade him to lay down his arms and ſubmit to him; which not being done, the Duke of Monmouth cauſed him to be proclaimed a traitor to him. As to the particulars of Argyle's being taken, you can ſee it in this printed paper, ſent from hence, by which the rebellion in that country will ſoon have an end. I have not time to ſay more now, but to aſſure you, I ſhall always be as kind to you as you can deſire."

James

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.—Declines accepting the Prince's offer to come over to England.

London, June 30, 1685.

"TWO days ſince I had yours by Monſieur Bentinke, who has given me a full account of all you had charged him with, and I take very kindly from you all the offers you made me by him, and I make no doubt, but by God's help, your ſending me the three regiments I deſired of you (the three Scotch being arrived this day at Graveſend) to put a ſpeedy end to this rebellion. As to your coming over, which he told me you were ready to do, if there were any neceſſity of it, I do not at all think it proper at this time for our common intereſt, it being as neceſſary for you to ſtay in Holland at this conjuncture, to keep all things well there, as it is for me to ſtay here in London. I have diſcourſed at large with M. Bentink upon this ſubject, who will alſo give you an account of it. However, I take it as kindly from you as if you had come, and am as ſenſible as you can deſire, of what you have already done. As for news, Lord Feverſham followed the rebels the day after they marched from before Bath, and being advanced with ſome command of foot, and ſome of his horſe and dragoons, found the rebels at a place called Phillipſnorton. He ſent his foot on to ſee how they were poſted, and what could be done upon them; who found the rebels very well poſted in a very ſtrong ground, not to be forced, with ſo few men; and ſo drew up before them, and hindered their march, and when the reſt of his men came up to him, thought it not fit to engage, and went to Bradford, which was not far off, to refreſh his men, who were very much harraſſed, having marched nine days without any reſt. In this ſmall occaſion, the Duke of Grafton, who went on with, and commanded the detachment of foot, had like to have been cut off by a party of the rebels' horſe, who came out to fall into his flank,

flank, but were charged and beaten by the grenadiers on horſeback, and Mathews, that commanded the rebels' horſe, killed by Lieutenant Vaughan. Of my men only ſeven or eight were killed, and ſome twenty wounded; not one officer had any harm, and but one volunteer killed. I have not time to ſay more, but aſſure you, ſhall ever be as kind to you as you can deſire."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Much pleaſed with the regiments ſent by the prince.——Monmouth retreats.

Whitehall, July 3, 1685.

"I Received on Wedneſday your's of the 6th, by which I ſee the Engliſh regiments were to be embarked by the beginning of this week, and muſt again thank you for them, and if they be but as good as the Scotch regiments, which I ſaw this morning, I ſhall be doubly pleaſed; for as to theſe I have ſeen, there cannot be, I am ſure, better men than they are, and they do truly look like old regiments, and one cannot be better pleaſed with them than I am, and muſt again thank you for them. They quarter this night in Southwark, and are to march to-morrow for Hounſlow, and ſo forwards, as I ſhall have news of the rebels' motion. I heard yeſterday they had been at Wells, which they had ſufficiently plundered, church and all, and were marching to Gaſenberry, I believe in their way to Bridgewater, to get near the ſea-ſide there, having a mind as I believe to ſpeak with his ſhip ſomewhere thereabouts; but it will be ill fortune if ſome of my ſhips do not light upon her, for I have two, I cauſed fit out at Briſtol, going to look out for her that way, and others which are going about the Land's end after her. I have not heard from Lord Feverſham this day, but believe he marched yeſterday from Frome after the rebels; he did not march after them the day before to be ſure which way they bent, he being to cover Briſtol, and

and to ſee they give him not the ſlip this way; if they go weſt, he will preſs them hard. They, the rebels, deſert apace; which is all I ſhall ſay now but to aſſure you I ſhall always be as kind to you as you can deſire."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.———Monmouth defeated.

Whitehall, July 7, 1685.

"I Am ſure it will pleaſe you very well to hear that it has pleaſed God, to give my troops good ſucceſs againſt the rebels here in England, as well as in Scotland. The Duke of Monmouth was got with all his troops to Bridgwater, and had ſummoned all the country to come in to him to fortify it; upon which Lord Feverſham marched on Sunday laſt from Sommerton to a village called Weſton, which is within ſome two or three miles of Bridgwater, near which he camped, with what he had of my old troops, which conſiſted of about two thouſand foot, in ſix battalions, and ſome ſeven hundred horſe and dragoons, and eighteen ſmall field pieces: the Earl of Pembroke with ſome horſe and foot, of the militia, were quartered in a village behind him, having not tents, to camp with. On Sunday night the Duke of Monmouth came out of Bridgwater over the bridge, with all his troops, himſelf at the head of the foot, and Lord Grey commanded his horſe, and came on with that great order and ſilence, that our parties which were out to ſee if he marched, did not hear them, and drew in battle upon the plain, and advanced ſtraight on to our camp, hoping to ſurpriſe them, and about two in the morning engaged our foot with great vigour, and were as well received; they had but three pieces of cannon with them, which they brought up, within piſtol ſhot of our foot. Our horſe in the mean time drew up on the right hand of our foot, the left being ſo covered that they could not be taken by the flank, and charged the rebels horſe, which conſiſted

conſiſted of fifteen troops, and beat them, at the firſt charge, but did not purſue them far, but fell back into the rear of the rebels foot, which made great reſiſtance, but at laſt were all cut to pieces, their cannon and two and twenty colours taken. How many were ſlain of them was not then known, nor how many priſoners; juſt now I have heard again from Lord Feverſham, of laſt night ten o'clock, in which he gives me an account that he was maſter of Bridgwater, that what horſe of the rebels which eſcaped, had taken their way towards Briſtol, that he had ſent two parties of horſe, the one to Canſham and the other to Bradford, to ſee to intercept them; that as to the Duke of Monmouth, he believed he got off only with forty horſe. I have reaſon to believe now that the countries will riſe upon them, ſo that he will have difficulty enough to get away. Lord Feverſham has left ſome men in Bridgwater, and is marched to Wells, where he is to be this night: 'tis ſo late that I can ſay no more, but to aſſure you you ſhall always find me as kind to you as you can deſire."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Monmouth taken.

Whitehall, July 10, 1685.

"IN my laſt I told you how Lord Feverſham had totally defeated the Duke of Monmouth. Now I can tell you that it hath pleaſed God to let the Duke be taken; he and Lord Grey, ſo ſoon as their horſe were beaten, went away and left their foot; and ſome hours after, with two others, put themſelves in diſguiſe, and went as far as their horſes would carry them towards Poole; when they were tired, they quitted them, and endeavoured to get on foot to the ſeaſide; but Lord Lumley, with ſome of the Suſſex militia, had the good fortune to take them both, the Lord Grey on the 7th, and the Duke of Monmouth on the 8th,

8th, with a Brandenburgher, that was with them, whoſe name I do not yet know. I have ordered them to be brought up hither under a ſtrong guard; which is all I have time to ſay to you now, but that you ſhall always find me as kind to you as you can deſire."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.—His interviews with Monmouth and Lord Grey.

Whitehall, July 14, 1685.

"I HAVE had yours of the 17th, and now the Duke of Monmouth is brought up hither with Lord Grey and the Brandenburgher. The two firſt deſired very earneſtly to ſpeak with me, as having things of importance to ſay to me, which they did, but did not anſwer my expectation, in what they ſaid to me: the Duke of Monmouth ſeemed more concerned and deſirous to live, and did behave himſelf not ſo well as I expected, nor ſo as one ought to have expected, from one who had taken upon him to be King. I have ſigned the warrant for his execution to-morrow. For Lord Grey, he appeared more reſolute and ingenious, and never ſo much as once aſked for his life; his execution cannot be ſo ſoon, by reaſon of ſome forms which are requiſite to be complyed with. 'Tis ſo late that I have not time to ſay more, but that you ſhall always find me as kind to you as you can deſire."

James

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Monmouth's execution.

Whitehall, July 17, 1685.

"I Find by yours of the 21ſt, that you heard of the defeat of the rebels, and before this you will have been informed of the Duke of Monmouth having been taken and brought hither. He was very ſolicitous to have gained more time, and did many things towards it, not very decent for one who had taken on him the title of King. He was beheaded on Wedneſday on the Tower-hill. He died reſolutely, and a downright enthuſiaſt. Mr. Bentick will ſoon be with you, who will be able to inform you of all the particulars, which are too long for a letter; Richard Goodenough is taken in Devonſhire, they are in hopes to have Farguſon alſo, ſo that few of the chief rebels are eſcaped: I have not time to ſay more, and be aſſured I ſhall always be as kind to you as you can deſire.

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Rejoices that the rebellion is ended.

Whitehall, July 19, 1685.

"THE kind meſſage you ſent to the king by Mr. Bentinck, and your good wiſhes, I believe brought us good luck, for God be thanked here is an end of all troubles, and in ſuch a manner as that we hope never to ſee the like again as long as we live. I have deſired this bearer to give you a thouſand thanks for all the marks you give me of your friendſhip, both by him, and in your letter. I am extremely pleaſed with it, and deſire nothing more than the continuance of it, of which I will not doubt, being reſolved to ſhew myſelf upon all occaſions, truly and ſincerely yours."

M. R.

For my ſon, the Prince of Orange.

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Lords Brandon and Stamford ſeized.

Whitehall, July 24, 1685.

"I Had this evening yours of the 27th, and certainly you are very much in the right, in what you ſay concerning the late Duke of Monmouth. I have now made further diſcovery, and have ſent this evening lord Stamford to the Tower, and have ordered lord Brandon to be taken up and ſent thither alſo. I was yeſterday at Hounſlow to ſee ſome ſix thouſand men were there. It is ſo late that I have not time to ſay more, but to aſſure you of my being as kind to you as you can deſire."

In the *Depot.*

Notwithſtanding theſe ſmooth letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, Barillon writes to his court 21ſt of May, 1685, that the King complained to him that the Prince of Orange had permitted lord Argyle to ſail. On the 7th of May he writes, that the King ſaid he was to keep on fair terms with the Prince only till the ſeſſion of parliament ſhould be over; and at an after period near the time of the revolution he writes, that King told him, it was very lucky there had been no occaſion for trying the fidelity of the regiments which the Prince of Orange had ſent over in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion; for that moſt of the officers were diſaffected.

Lord Dartmouth's manuſcript-note on page 631, Vol. 1, of Biſhop Burnet's hiſtory, is in theſe words: "Fletcher told me he had good grounds to ſuſpect, that the Prince underhand encouraged the expedition with deſign to ruin the Duke of Monmouth." The authority is high. Fletcher was in a ſituation to know, and he was incapable of lying.

The effect of the King's ſuſpicion ſoon appeared in his inſiſting to appoint the commander of the ſix Britiſh regiments

regiments in the Dutch ſervice, in the place of Mr. Sidney, whom he had recalled. At firſt he propoſed that lord Pembroke ſhould have the command. The prince conſented; but the appointment did not take place. Afterwards the King recommended lord Carlingford, a Roman catholic. But the Prince poſitively refuſed his conſent, and the King yielded in his turn.

The correſpondence on this ſubject is in King William's box, as follows.

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Propoſes Lord Pembroke to command the Britiſh troops in the Dutch ſervice.

Whitehall, July 29, 1685.

"I Have ſpoken my mind ſo freely to this bearer Mr. Bentick, and ſo freely inſtructed him of all things here, that I need ſay little to you by him. Richard Goodenough is brought hither, and confirms very exactly what the late Duke of Momouth and Lord Gray have ſaid: I have not ſpoken to him yet, but I am to examine him myſelf to-morrow. I need not ſay more to you now, but to aſſure you of my being as kind to you as you can deſire.

I have charged this bearer to make a propoſal to you concerning the Earl of Pembroke, who conſidering all things I think very fit for the command I propoſe to you."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Preſſes for Lord Pembroke's command.——Is to make a camp at Hounſlow.

Whitehall, Auguſt 10, 1685.

"I Had not time the laſt poſt to let you know that I had received yours of the 6th from Dieren, by which I am glad to ſee you were ſo ſatisfied with what

Mr. Bentick had ſaid to you from me, and ſhall not alter from it. As to what you deſire to have concerning ſome authentick proofs againſt ſome in Amſterdam, at preſent I can ſay no more than the note I gave Mr. Bentick has informed you, but now when the trials come on of ſeveral of the rebels, ſhall ſee what further light can be got. As to what concerns lord Pembroke's affairs which I recommended to you ſo earneſtly, I hope that if you preſs the States to it, they will agree to it, eſpecially when you may tell them no penſion will be deſired, now in time of peace; and for a regiment, that as I keep Canon here, he lord Pembroke may have it. 'Tis true he has ſeen no ſervice, he is a ſtout, ingenious, and induſtrious man, and one on whom I can entirely rely, and ſo will be ſure to propoſe none, nor recommend any to you, but ſuch as are truly loyal, which is of great conſequence to me; for as they are yet compoſed, there are ſome officers, and many ſoldiers, were better out than in thoſe regiments; and beſides that, he has really ſerved me eminently well in this laſt affair, againſt the Duke of Monmouth; all which conſiderations will I hope prevail with you, to do your part to get it done, and then ſure the States will not be againſt it. As for news, all things continue very quiet here, and are like to continue ſo, though the republican and preſbyterian party are as willing as ever to rebel, only want an opportunity. I ſhall have moſt of my new foot at Hounſlow by the next week, where I intend they ſhall all camp, for ſome time; which is all I have to ſay, but to aſſure you of my being as kind to you as you can deſire."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange——Thanks for Lord Pembroke's affair.——Commends the appearance of the troops encamped at Hounſlow.

Windſor, Auguſt 25, 1685.

"I HAVE received yours of the 27th, by which I am very glad to find you do agree to what I propoſed

poſed to you concerning the Earl of Pembroke, and thank you very kindly for doing it, and ſhall ſend to advertiſe him of it, that he may make what haſte he can over to you, to thank you for your kindneſſes to him. As for the names of any of the magiſtrates of Amſterdam, when I can get any authentic proofs againſt them, I I ſhall let you have it, which, I fear, will be hard to be got, though 'tis certain ſome of them knew of the Duke of Monmouth's deſign. On Saturday laſt I ſaw ſome of my troops at Hounſlow, they conſiſted of ten battalions of foot, of which three were of the guards, and the other ſeven new raiſed regiments; of horſe there were twenty ſquadrons, and one of grenadiers on horſeback, and really the new troops of both ſorts were in very good order, and the horſes very well mounted: I was glad that the Mareſchal d'Humieres ſaw them, for ſeveral reaſons. I have not time to ſay more, but that you ſhall always find me as kind to you as you can deſire."

For my ſonne the Prince of Orange.

Prince of Orange to Monſ. Bentinck.

In King William's box.

" JE ſuis en un extreme embarras de ce que le Roy à trouvé bon de me nommer le Comte de Carlingford pour commander les ſix regimens de ſes ſujets qui ſont en ce ſervice icy, puis qu'il n'y a rien au monde que je deſire plus que de ſatisfaire ſa Majeſté en tout ce qui pouroit dependre de moy. Mais comme le dit Comte eſt Catholique, et que cela me fairoit un tort extreme en ce pais-ci ſi je donnois commandement de ces ſix regimens à une perſonne de cette religion; et que vous vous ſouvienderez ſans doute que je fus obligé de faire la même repreſentation au feu Roy a l'egard du Comte de Dunbarton; et que ſa Majeſté eut la bonté de n'y plus inſiſter, je me trouve forcé de vous prier de repreſenter cecy au Roy, eſperant que ſa Majeſté aura la même bonté, et qu'elle ne voudra pas que

je me faſſe un ſi grand tort en ce pais, dont elle ne peut tirer aucune ſervice. J'aurois fait directement cette repreſentation au Roy, ſi je n'avois cru qu'il etoit plus reſpectueux de le faire par votre moien; dont je vous prie de prendre la peine, et cela de la maniere que vous jugerez le plus convenable; et vouz obligerez extrememement celui qui ſera toujours entierement à vous."

Tranſlation.

Prince of Orange to Monſ. Bentinck.——Refuſes to give the command of the Engliſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice to Lord Carlingford, recommended by the King.

"I AM under an extreme embarraſſment from the King's thinking proper to name the Earl of Carlingford to me for the command of the ſix regiments of his ſubjects who are in this ſervice, becauſe there is nothing in the world I deſire more than to give ſatisfaction to his Majeſty in every thing that depends upon me. But as the Earl is a Catholick, and it would hurt me extremely in this country if I gave the command of theſe ſix regiments to a perſon of that religion; and as I was obliged, which no doubt you will remember, to repreſent the ſame thing to the deceaſed King with regard to the Earl of Dunbarton; and as his Majeſty had the goodneſs upon that not to inſiſt upon it any longer, I find myſelf forced to repreſent all this to the King, in hopes that his Majeſty will have the ſame goodneſs, and that he will not wiſh to do me ſo great an injury to myſelf in this country, without bringing any advantage to him. I would have made this repreſentation directly to the King, if I had not thought that it was more reſpectful to do it by your means. I intreat you to take the trouble of it, and that in whatever manner you think proper, and you will oblige extremely him who will be always entirely yours."

Lord

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.——Preſſes him, from the King, to give the command of the Britiſh troops in the Dutch ſervice, to Lord Carlingford, a Papiſt.

"IN obedience to your Highneſs's commands, which I received by your letter of the 19th of this month, I have repreſented to the King what you directed me concerning my Lord Carlingford, and the prejudice it would be to your Highneſs if he commanded the King's ſubjects in Holland; upon which his Majeſty has ordered me to aſſure your Highneſs that he will never deſire any thing of you that can poſſibly be diſadvantageous to you; and if my Lord Carlingford's being at the head of thoſe troops could be ſo, he would never have writ to you about it, nor would continue to preſs it as he does. His Majeſty not thinking it unreaſonable for him to recommend a man of quality and honour ſuch a one as he likes to be over his ſubjects, and that his being a Catholick is no argument againſt it, ſince men of that religion have been ſo often employed in all places and at all times. That when my Lord Dunbarton was propoſed by the late King, the noiſe of the plot and the clamour of the faction were at the height, which was the reaſon his late Majeſty preſſed it no further; but all that being over long ago, and his preſent Majeſty employing Catholicks where he finds they are fit, he cannot but deſire that my Lord Carlingford may command thoſe regiments, and thinks the alteration of times and perſons ought to be conſidered. This his Majeſty has directed me to write to your Highneſs, to which I have nothing to add, but that I am ſure the King would be very well pleaſed if this might be done, and that he will take it extremely well of your Highneſs if

you could comply with him in it. For my particular, I am very ſorry that you ſhould deſire any ſervice of me out of my power, being, with the greateſt reſpect and ſubmiſſion poſſible,

Your Highneſs's

Windſor, Aug. 24, 1686. Moſt faithful, moſt humble And moſt obedient ſervant.

SUNDERLAND. P.

Prince of Orange to Lord Sunderland.

A Dieren, ce 12 de Sept. 1686.

"J'AI recu, la jour avant mon depart de la Haye, celle que vous avez pris la peine de m'ecrire du $\frac{24 \text{ Aouſt,}}{4 \text{ Sept.}}$ par ordre du Roy ſur l'affaire de milord Carlingford. Il ne ſeroit pas bienſeant, et j'ay trop de reſpect pour ſa Majeſté, d'entrer plus avant en raiſonnement ſur cette matiere; ainſi je n'ai qu'à vous prier de vouloir de ma part ſupplier ſa Majeſté tres humblement d'avoir la bonté de ne plus inſiſter ſur cette affaire, et je le prendrai comme une grande grace. Je ſuis bien marri d'être obligé de vous donner tant de peine; je vous prie de ne le pas trouver mauvais, et de me croire toujours, &c.

Tranſlation.

Prince of Orange to Lord Sunderland.—Refuſes poſitively to give the command of the Britiſh troops, in the Dutch ſervice, to Lord Carlingford.

Dieren, September 12, 1686.

"THE day before I left the Hague I received the letter which you took the trouble to write to me on $\frac{24 \text{ Aug.}}{4 \text{ Sept.}}$ upon my Lord Carlingford's affair. It would not be decent, and I have too much reſpect for his Majeſty to enter further into reaſonings on that matter;

ter; and therefore I have only to beg you will humbly intreat his Majeſty, on my part, to have the goodneſs not to inſiſt upon this affair, and I will take it as a great favour. I am ſorry to give you ſo much trouble, and I crave you not to take it amiſs, and to believe me always, &c.

In the mean time, Lord Churchill not having ſucceeded at Paris in getting money for his maſter from the French court, King James and his Miniſters renewed their attempts with Barillon. The following diſpatch relates the particulars. I print the whole of it, though long, becauſe, I preſume, the effect of it will be, to make every Britiſh reader, even at this day, ſhudder, when he reflects what an eſcape from arbitrary power our anceſtors made at the Revolution.

Extract d'une depêche de M. Barillon au Roy, 1685, *Mars* 26.

"J'AI eu pluſieurs conferences depuis quelques jours avec le Roy d'Angleterre, et avec ſes miniſtres, dans les quelles j'ai été fort preſſé de repreſenter à votre Majeſté l'état au quel ſont les affaires de ce pays cy, et de lui demander en même tems un ſecours qui puiſſe mettre ſa Majeſté Britannique en état de ſe ſoutenir, et de ne pas ſuccomber ſous les efforts qu'on doit s'attendre que feront ſes ennemis des que l'occaſion s'en preſentera: milord Rocheſter, milord Sonderland, et milord Godolphin me ſont venu trouver enſemble, et m'ont expliqué les beſoins qu'avoit le Roy d'Angleterre d'un ſecours preſent; c'eſt à dire d'une ſomme conſiderable d'argent pour pouvoir ſe conduire avec la fermeté neceſſaire envers le parlement, et ne lui accorder aucune des conditions prejudiciables à ſon autorité, qui lui ſeront indubitablement propoſées en lui accordant le revenu dont le feu Roy d'Angleterre jouiſſoit. Ils me dirent

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que la resolution étoit prise de ne point accepter ce que le parlement voudroit accorder pour un tems limité, parceque ce seroit établir une necessité d'assembler le parlement, qui changeroit la forme du gouvernment, et qui rendroit le Roy leur maitre entierement dépendant de cette assemblée ; que plustot que de tomber dans cet inconvenient, il en faudra venir d'abord aux remedes extrémes, casser le parlement, et se maintenir à force ouverte dans la jouissance des revenus accordés au feu Roy d'Angletere pour sa vie seulement ; qu'on ne doit pas présumer que cela puisse être fait sans opposition; et qu'il faut être en état de reprimer d'abord les premiers troubles qui seront excités ; qu'on ne peut les prevenir en levant de nouvelles troupes avant la seançe du parlement, ni en faissant venir des forces etrangers qui, dans le commencement que le parlement sera cassé, causeroient plutôt une révolte generale en Angleterre, qu'elles ne serviroient à réduire les rebelles ; qu'ainsi le seul remede est que sa Majesté Britannique soit en état de faire un grand effort, et de se soutenir avec une somme d'argent qui facilitera tous ses desseins, au lieu que s'il faut attendre le secours dont ou aura besoin, le tems se passera avant qu'on en puisse tirer les avantages qui seront indubitables d'abord.

Les trois ministres s'etendirent sur la gloire qu'auroit votre Majesté de conserver la couronne peu affermie encore sur la tête du Roy leur maitre, et n'obmirent aucune des raisons qui doivent porter votre Majesté à le mettre en état de lui devoir la conservation et le bonheur de son regne. La conclusion fût qu'ils ne doutoient pas que votre Majesté ne voulut bien dans la suite accorder le même subside au Roi leur maitre qu'elle avoit accordé au feu Roy, et même ne rien diminuer sur les deux dernieres années des trois comme on avoit fait ; c'est à dire un subside de deux millions par chaque année pendant trois ans ; qu'outre ce subside, il étoit d'une absolu necessité que votre Majesté voulut envoyer icy avant l'assemblée du parlement un fonds de deux millions, qui feroient avec ce qui reste dû de l'ancien subside une somme

me de trois millions; que l'état des affaires du Roi ne demandoit pas un moindre ſecours; et que votre Majeſté, voulant lui témoigner une amitié ſincere et effective, feroit plus par ce ſecours preſent que par tout ce qu'elle pourroit faire dans la ſuite.

Je temoignai être ſurpris d'entendre la propoſition d'une ſomme ſi conſiderable, et en même tems celle d'un ſubſide reglé; je leur dis qu'une demande plus moderée ſeroit plus convenable dans les commencemens, puiſque l'on pouvoit être aſſuré que le ſecours de votre Majeſté ne manqueroit pas au beſoin, et qu'on avoit vu que votre Majeſté avoit prevenu même la demande qu'on lui pouvoit faire, des qu'elle avoit pu croire que ſa Majeſté Britannique pouvoit en avoir beſoin: que je trouvois auſſi qu'il n'étoit pas néceſſaire de régler des à preſent un ſubſide, avant que de voir ce qu'il arriveroit de l'aſſemblée du parlement, et ſans ſavoir ſi il ne ſe porteroit pas à donner au Roy d'Angleterre la jouiſſance de tous les revenus pendant ſa vie, au quel cas il ſe trouveroit en état de ſe ſoutenir plus aiſement et de maintenir ſon autorité. La replique à cela fût, quoiqu'il arrivat du parlement on ne devoit pas s'attendre, que le Roy leur maitre fût en etat de pouvoir ſubſiſter par lui même en l'état où il devoit être pour ſa ſûreté; qu'il auroit beſoin de faire encore une augmentation dans ſes troupes, et de remettre ſes vaiſſeaux en bon état; que ſa reſolution étoit priſe de demeurer toujours attaché à votre Majeſté, et ainſi qu'il ne craignoit pas de s'engager à demander un ſubſide pendant pluſieurs années, ſachant bien que votre Majeſté ſeroit contente de ſa conduite en tous les tems, et ne ſe repentiroit pas de le mettre en pouvoir de lui temoigner ſa reconnoiſſance. Le même jour que j'eus cette conference, le Roy d'Angleterre me mena dans ſon cabinet; il me repeta ce que ſes miniſtres m'avoient dit, et y ajouta tout ce qui peut perſuader un attachement inviolable de ſa part aux intereſts de votre Majeſté. Je lui dis que je ne pouvois pas lui parler de la part de votre Majeſté ſur ce que ſes miniſtres m'avoient dit, ne l'ayant pas prevu; que je le priois

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de mon chef de conſiderer ce que votre Majeſté avoit fait d'abord pour prevenir ſes beſoins ; que je croiois que cette épreuve le devoit porter plûtot à laiſſer à votre Majeſte le choix de ce qu'elle deſiroit faire, que de lui demander avec empreſſement une ſomme conſiderable comme une choſe d'une abſolue neceſſité ; que la fixation d'une ſubſide me paroiſſoit auſſi être prematurée ; et qu'une entiere confiance en votre Majeſté ne l'engageroit pas moins qu'une demande preciſe et formelle ; que je croiois que la maniere d'agir de votre Majeſté à ſon egard, doit auſſi attirer de lui une maniere differente de ce qui ſe pratique ordinairement ; et que ſi j'oſois le conſeiller, je croirois qu'il ne ſeroit pas neceſſaire dans ce commencement de faire autre choſe que d'établir une confiance reciproque, et une entiere intelligence ſur tout ce qui peut arriver.

La réponſe du Roi d'Angleterre a été, qu'il penſeroit à ce que je lui diſois ; qu'il me parleroit encore à fond ; et que je viſſe milord Rocheſter, pour pouvoir convenir avec lui de ce qu'il ſeroit plus à propos de faire preſentement. Je vis milord Rocheſter, et j'eſſayai de lui perſuader que la demande d'une ſomme ſi conſiderable, jointe à celle d'un ſubſide, ne feroit pas un ſi bon effet auprés de votre Majeſté, que ſi on ſe contentoit de repreſenter l'état des affaires, qu'enſuite on remit à ce que votre Majeſté jugeroit plus convenable à faire de ſa part ; qu'il importoit dans le commencement de ſon miniſtere d'établir une confiance entiere entre votre Majeſté et le Roi ſon maitre, et que rien ne fût refuſé de ce qui ſeroit demandé ; que ſi je ne connoiſſois ſes bonnes intentions par une longue experience, je croirois qu'il auroit inſpiré le conſeil d'une demande ſi forte, pour jetter votre Majeſté dans l'inconvenient de refuſer la premiere choſe qui lui eſt demandée par ſa Majeſté Britannique ; qu'il devoit croire que je parlois de mon chef et ſans ordre, n'ayant pu prevoir que l'affaire dont il eſt queſtion dut être agitée ; que j'aimois mieux prevenir des difficultés qui pourroient ſurvenir que de faire eſperer icy plus qu'on ne doit attendre.

Milord

Milord Rocheſter me dit qu'il croioit inutile de me parler de ſa conduite paſſée, puiſque nous avions, lui et moi, pendant quatre ans managé ſeuls et ſans la participation d'autres perſonnes, des intereſts aſſez difficiles a concilier ; que j'etois temoin de ſon procedé tant qu'il avoit eu la confiance du feu Roy d'Angleterre ; qu'il eſperoit que je lui rendrois cette juſtice de n'avoir rien vu en lui de l'incértitude et des changemens ſi frequens en ceux qui l'avoient precedé dans les affaires ; qu'il ne pretendoit pas tirer vanité de ce qui s'eſt paſſé pendant les quatre dereres années ; qu'il croioit que le feu Roy d'Angleterre avoit fait fort ſagement et fort utilement pour ſes intereſts de s'unir étroitement avec votre Majeſté ; que votre Majeſté de ſon côté avoit trouvé de la facilité a l'execution de tous ſes deſſeins, pour ne rien dire de plus avantageux de ſa liaiſon avec le feu Roy d'Angleterre ; que tant que les finances ont eté entre ſes mains, il a laiſſé aller les payemens des ſubſides en la maniere que je l'ai voulu, et que par ce moyen, il s'eſt paſſé une année entiere ſans qu'il ait été queſtion de la continuation de ce ſubſide, quoique dans cette derniere année Luxembourg ait éte pris, et la paix faite en la maniere que votre Majeſté la voulû preſcrire à ſes ennemis : qu'en tout cela il croit avoir bien ſervi ſon maitre, ſans avoir rien fait de contraire aux intereſts de votre Majeſté ; qu'ainſi il merite qu'on prenne à preſent confiance en lui, et que ce qu'il peut conſeiller ſoit bien interpreté ; que ſon deſſein n'eſt pas de diminuer l'opinion que je puis avoir de ſon credit, mais que je connois le Roy ſon maitre, et que je vois clairement qu'il agit en tout par lui même, et que perſonne ne ſcait mieux que lui l'état de ſes affaires ; que ſa reſolution eſt priſe de demeurer inviolablement attaché à votre Majeſté ; qu'il n'y aura ni changement ni variation dans ſa conduite, et que votre Majeſté peut faire un fond aſſuré ſur lui à l'avenir ; qu'avec le ſecours preſent, et la promeſſe du ſubſide, le Roi ſon maitre ſera en état de réprimer les premiers efforts qui ſe feront contre lui, et qu'aprés s'être bien etabli, il dirigera toute ſa conduite au dehors,

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pour se conserver une amitié et une protection à laqu'elle il devra sa conservation et la prosperité de ses affaires; qu' à son égard de lui, je le connoissois assez pour savoir qu'il ne croioit pas de la dignité et des vrais interêts de son maitre de marchander avec votre Majesté, ni de lui demander trois millions pour en obtenir deux; que le besoin étoit pressant, et qu'il n'etoit arrivé de longtems une conjoncture pareille à celle-ci; que votre Majesté jouissoit d'une paix glorieuse aprés avoir donné le repos à l'Europe par une sageſſe plus digne d'admiration encore que ses conquetes: qu'il avoüoit de bonne foi, que la conduite de votre Majesté en tout, attire une profonde veneration, que personne n'en est plus rempli que lui; qu'il espere que votre Majesté ne voudras pas diminuer quelque chose de ce qui lui est demandé en une occasion où il s'agit de tout pour le Roy son maitre.

J'ai eu depuis cela une longue conference avec le Roy d'Angleterre dans laqu'elle il m'expliqua à fond ses dessseins et l'état de ses affaires; il me dit, qu'il connoissoit l'aversion que le peuple d'Angleterre avoit pour la religion catholique, mais qu'avec le secours de votre Majesté il esperoit surmonter cet obstacle; que son unique but étoit d'y travailler; et qu'il savoit assez que jamais il ne seroit en une entiere sureté que la religion catholique ne fût établie en Angleterre de façon à ne pouvoir être ruinée ni detruite; que cela ne se pouvoit faire qu'avec le tems, et en prenant de grandes precautions pour l'avenir; qu'il avoit beaucoup de vues sur cela, dont je serois informé quand il en seroit tems; que presentment il s'agissoit de jetter les fondemens de son regne et de s'etablir; que le secours dont il avoit besoin m'avoit été explique; que son humeur étoit fort opposée à faire des demandes excessives, mais qu'il n'hesitoit pas aussi à exposer ses besoins à votre Majesté, ayant bien resolu d'être tout sa vie attaché à ses interests: que quand il saura sur quoi il peut faire un fondement assuré, il entreprendra des choses à quoi il n'osera songer, s'il n'est pas en état de les soutenir. Que tout ce que votre Majesté a fait de glorieux pour sa personne, et d'avantageux

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pour ſon état, ne l'eſt pas d'avantage que le ſeront les ſuites de ce que votre Majeſté fera preſentement en ſa faveur, parcequ'un ſecours preſent, et l'opinion qu'on a déja de l'appui de votre Majeſté pour lui, le mettront en état de venir à bout de tous ſes bons deſſeins; qu'il les conduira avec la participation de votre Majeſté, et conformement à ſes intentions; que le rétabliſſement de la religion catholique en Angleterre ne peut reüſſir que ſous la protection et par les ſecours de votre Majeſté; que Dieu la miſe en un état de grandeur et de puiſſance, où aucune Roy de France n'a été depuis pluſieurs ſiécles, pour être le reſtaurateur de la religion en Angleterre.

Je dis à ce Prince que je repreſenterois à votre Majeſté ce qu'il me diſoit; que je le priois cependant de ſe remettre à ce que votre Majeſté reſoudra, et de ne ſé pas tellement renfermer à aucune demande preciſe, que votre Majeſté ne connoiſſe qui'l ſoumet à ſon jugement et à ſa deciſion la conduite d'une affaire de ſi grand poids, et qui demande tant de precaution et de ſi puiſſans ſecours; que je ſuis aſſez informé que votre Majeſté ne deſire rien d'avantage que le rétabliſſement de la religion en Angleterre, mait que cette entrepriſe eſt remplie de difficultés, et ſera traverſée fortement ſi elle n'eſt conduite avec tout la prudence poſſible; que c'eſt ce qui ſe doit concerter avec votre Majeſté, et prendre des meſures ſolides qui ne puiſſent manquer; qu'ainſi il eſt juſte de s'en rapporter à votre Majeſté. Je vis encore hier au ſoir le Roy d'Angleterre, il me preſſa de rendre compte à votre Majeſté de ce qu'il m'avoit dit, et me fit connoitre qu'il attendra avec impatience ce que votre Majeſté aura determiné, parceque toute ſa conduite doit être dirigée ſur la reſolution que votre Majeſté voudra prendre.

J'ai eu une longue conference en particulier avec milord Sonderland; il me paroit informé à fond des intentions et des deſſeins du Roy ſon maitre; il le croit entierement reſolu de s'attacher votre Majeſté, et de ne menager M. le Prince d'Orange qu'autant qu'il eſt neceſſaire

ceſſarie preſentement, pour ne lui pas fournir des occaſions de faire eclater ſa mauvaiſe volonté; il m'a dit, que ceux qui voudroient réunir le Roy d'Angleterre et M. le Prince d'Orange ſeroient fort aiſé que votre Majeſté ne fit pas preſentement pour le Roi d'Angleterre tout ce qu'il peut deſirer, pour pouvoir dans la ſuite trouver quelque moyen de la faire pancher du côté du Prince d'Orange, ce qui deviendra entierement impoſſible, ſi votre Majeſté repond à ce que ſa Majeſté Britannique attende preſentement de ſon amitié."

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.——James aſks a ſupply and ſubſidy from France.—His views.—Conferences with Godolphin, Rocheſter, and Sunderland, and their views.

March 26, 1685.

"WITHIN theſe few days, I have had many conferences with the King of England, and his miniſters, in which I have been much preſſed to repreſent to your Majeſty the ſtate of affairs in this country, and at the ſame time to aſk ſuch a ſupply of money as may put the King of England in a condition to ſupport himſelf, and not ſink under the efforts which it is expected his enemies will make, as ſoon as an occaſion offers. Lord Rocheſter, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Godolphin, came to me together, and explained the need the King of England had of a preſent ſupply, that is to ſay, of a conſiderable ſum of money, in order to enable him to conduct himſelf with a neceſſary firmneſs towards his parliament, and not to grant any of thoſe conditions prejudicial to his authority, which undoubtedly will be propoſed to him at granting the revenue which the deceaſed King enjoyed. They told me the reſolution was taken not to accept what the parliament would grant for a limited time, becauſe it would eſtabliſh a neceſſity of aſſembling the parliament, which would

would change the form of government, and render the King, their maſter, entirely dependent on that aſſembly. That rather than fall into this inconvenience, it would be better to have recourſe directly to violent remedies; diſſolve the parliament; and maintain himſelf by open force in the enjoyment of the revenues granted for life to the deceaſed King of England; that it ought not to be preſumed this can be done without oppoſition, and they ought to be in a condition of oppoſing inſtantly the firſt diſturbances which ſhall be raiſed: That they cannot prevent them by levying freſh troops before the ſitting of parliament, nor by bringing in a foreign force, which on the firſt diſſolution of the parliament would rather cauſe a general revolt in England, than ſerve to reduce the rebels; that thus the only remedy is, that his Britannic Majeſty be in a condition of making one grand effort, and of ſupporting himſelf with a ſum of money which would facilitate all his deſigns: on the contrary, if he muſt wait for the ſupply he ſtands in need of, the time will be gone before any advantages can be drawn from it, but which are undoubted, if the ſupply be immediate.

The three miniſters enlarged upon the glory your Majeſty would acquire by preſerving the crown as yet but tottering on their maſter's head; and omitted no reaſons which could induce your Majeſty to put him on a foot of owing the preſervation and happineſs of his reign to you. The concluſion was, they did not doubt but your Majeſty would henceforth grant the ſame ſubſidy to the King their maſter, which you had given to the deceaſed King, and even not leſſen the two laſt years of the three, as had been done; that is to ſay, a ſubſidy of two millions per annum, for three years: That beſides this ſubſidy, it is abſolutely neceſſary that your Majeſty ſend here before the meeting of parliament a fund of two millions, which will make, with what remains of the old ſubſidy, a ſum of three millions: That the ſtate of the King's affairs required no leſs a ſupply; and that your Majeſty, by ſhewing him a ſincere and effectual

friendſhip, would do more by this preſent ſupply, than by all that could be done hereafter.

I ſhewed my ſurprize at hearing the propoſal of ſo conſiderable a ſum, and of a regular ſubſidy beſides. I told them a leſſer demand would have been more proper in the beginning, ſince they might be aſſured that your Majeſty's aſſiſtance would not be wanting in time of need; and they had already ſeen, that your Majeſty had even prevented the demand that might have been made, as ſoon as you believed his Britannic Majeſty was in need: That, moreover, I did not think it neceſſary to regulate at preſent a ſubſidy before it was ſeen what would happen on the parliament's meeting, and without knowing if they were inclined to give the King of England the enjoyment of all the revenues during his life, in which caſe he would be in a condition to ſupport himſelf more eaſily, and maintain his authority. The reply to this was, that whatever might ariſe from parliament, it was not to be expected that the King, their maſter, would be able to ſubſiſt by himſelf in the manner he ought for his ſafety; that it would be neceſſary to make an augmentation of his troops, and put his ſhips in a good condition; that his reſolution was taken to remain always attached to your Majeſty, and therefore he was not afraid to aſk a ſubſidy for ſome years, well knowing that your Majeſty would, at all times, be contented with his conduct, and not repent putting it in his power to ſhew his gratitude.

The ſame day I had this conference, the King of England took me into his cloſet, and repeated to me what his miniſters had ſaid, adding every thing that could perſuade me of the moſt inviolable attachment to your Majeſty's intereſts. I told him, I could not ſpeak to him, on the part of your Majeſty, upon what his miniſters had ſaid to me, not having foreſeen it; that I begged of him, in my own particular, to conſider what your Majeſty had already done to prevent his wants; that I thought this proof ſhould rather lead him to leave your Majeſty the choice of what you inclined to do, than to importune you for a large ſum as a thing of abſo-

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lute neceſſity; that the fixing of a ſubſidy appeared to me to be premature; and that an entire confidence in your Majeſty would not leſs engage you than a preciſe and formal demand; that I thought the manner in which your Majeſty had acted towards him, ought alſo to induce him to take different methods than are ordinarily practiſed; and if I dared to adviſe him, I believed it would not be neceſſary, in the beginning, to do any thing more than to eſtabliſh a reciprocal confidence, and an entire correſpondence upon future emergencies.

The anſwer the King of England made, was, that he would think upon what I had ſaid; that he would ſpeak to me again fully, and that I ſhould ſee Lord Rocheſter to agree with him on what would be moſt proper at preſent. I ſaw Lord Rocheſter, and endeavoured to perſuade him, that the demand of ſo conſiderable ſum, joined to that of a ſubſidy, would not have ſo good an effect with your Majeſty, as being contented with repreſenting the ſtate of affairs, and then referring to what your Majeſty may judge moſt fit to be done on your part; that it behoved him, in the beginning of his miniſtry, to eſtabliſh an entire confidence between your Majeſty and the King, his maſter, and that nothing which could be refuſed, ſhould be aſked; that if I did not know his good intentions from a long experience, I ſhould have believed that he had adviſed ſo great a demand with a view to throw your Majeſty into the inconvenience of refuſing the firſt thing his Britannick Majeſty had aſked of you; that he ought to believe I ſpoke from myſelf and without orders, not having been able to foreſee the affair in queſtion would be agitated; that I loved more to prevent difficulties which might ariſe, than to give greater hopes here than they ought to expect.

Lord Rocheſter ſaid, he believed it unneceſſary to ſpeak to me of his paſt conduct, ſince he and I had for four years managed alone, and without the participation of any other perſon, intereſts ſufficiently difficult to be reconciled; that I was a witneſs of his conduct as long

as he had the confidence of the deceaſed King of England; that he hoped I would do him the juſtice to think I had never ſeen in him that incertainty and thoſe changes ſo frequent in the perſons who had preceded him in the management of affairs: that he did not pretend to be vain upon what had paſſed during the laſt four years; he believed the deceaſed King of England had acted very wiſely and very advantageouſly for his intereſts by uniting himſelf ſtrictly with your Majeſty; that your Majeſty on your ſide had found a facility in the execution of all your deſigns, to ſay no more of the advantages of your alliance with the deceaſed King; that whilſt the finances were in his hands he let the payments of the ſubſidies be juſt as I pleaſed, and by this means a whole year had paſſed over without any mention being made of the continuation of this ſubſidy, although in this laſt year Luxembourg was taken, and the peace made in ſuch a manner as your Majeſty preſcribed to your enemies: that in all this he believed he had ſerved his maſter well, without having done any thing contrary to the intereſts of your Majeſty; that he therefore deſerved to have confidence placed in him at preſent, and what he adviſes ſhould not be miſ-interpreted: that he does not mean to leſſen the opinion I may have of his own credit, but that I knew the King his maſter, and clearly ſaw he acted in every thing of himſelf, and nobody knows better than he does the ſtate of his own affairs; that his reſolution was taken to live inviolably attached to your Majeſty; that there will be neither change, nor wavering in his conduct, and that your Majeſty might have a poſitive dependence upon him for the time to come; that with a preſent ſupply, and the promiſe of a ſubſidy, the King his maſter would be in a condition to repel the firſt efforts that can be made againſt him, and after being well eſtabliſhed at home, all his conduct will be directed abroad to preſerve a friendſhip and protection to which he will owe the preſervation and proſperity of his affairs; that as for himſelf I was well enough acquainted with him to know what he did not

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believe it was for his master's dignity or true interests to haggle with your Majesty, nor to ask of you three millions to obtain two; that the necessity was pressing, and for a long time there had not happened a conjuncture parallel to this; that your Majesty enjoyed a glorious peace after having given repose to Europe by a wisdom more worthy of admiration than your conquests; that he sincerely declared your Majesty's conduct in every thing deserved a profound veneration, and that nobody was more filled with it than himself; that he hoped your Majesty would not diminish any thing of what was asked of you on an occasion where the King his master's all was at stake.

Since that, I have had a long conference with the king of England, in which he explained to the bottom his designs, and the state of his affairs; he told me that he knew the aversion the people of England had to the catholic religion, but with support from your Majesty he hoped to surmount this difficulty; that his sole aim was to bring it about, and that he sufficiently knew he could never be in entire safety till the catholic religion was established in England in such a manner as not to be ruined or destroyed; that this could not be done but with time, and by taking great precautions for the future; that he had many views upon it, of which I should be informed when it was time; that at present the business was to lay the foundations of his reign and to establish himself; that the assistance he stood in need of had been explained to me; that it was very opposite to his inclination to make excessive demands, but he also did not hesitate to expose his necessities to your Majesty, having firmly resolved to be all his life attached to your interests. That when he knew what he might certainly trust to, he would undertake things which he would not dare to think of, unless he be in a capacity to support them. That all your Majesty had done glorious for your person, and advantageous to your state, will not be more so, than the consequences of what your Majesty shall at present do in his favour, because

a preſent ſupply, and the opinion already conceived of your Majeſty's ſupporting him, will put him in a condition to bring all his deſigns to ſucceed. That he will conduct them with your Majeſty's participation, and conformable to your intentions; that the re-eſtabliſhment of the catholic religion in England cannot ſucceed but under your protection, and by the help of your Majeſty's ſupplies; that God has put you in a ſtate of greatneſs and power, to which no King of France for many ages arrived, in order to your being the reſtorer of religion in England.

I told this Prince, that I would repreſent to your Majeſty what he had ſaid; in the mean while I begged of him to refer himſelf to what your Majeſty might reſolve, and not attach himſelf ſo much to any preciſe demand, as to hinder your Majeſty from ſeeing that he ſubmits to your judgment and deciſion the conduct of an affair of ſuch weight, and which requires ſo much precaution, and ſo powerful an aſſiſtance; that I am ſufficiently informed your Majeſty deſires nothing more than the re-eſtabliſhment of religion in England; but that this undertaking is full of difficulties, and will be ſtrongly oppoſed, if not conducted with all poſſible prudence; that as this is what ought to be concerted with your Majeſty, and ſuch ſolid meaſures taken as cannot fail, it is but juſt to refer himſelf to your Majeſty.

Yeſterday evening I again ſaw the King of England; he had preſſed me to give your Majeſty an account of what he ſaid to me, and told me that he ſhould wait with impatience for your Majeſty's determination, becauſe all his conduct will be directed by the reſolution which your Majeſty will take.

I have had a long conference in private with Lord Sunderland; he appeared to me to be informed to the bottom of the intentions and deſigns of the King his Maſter. He believes him entirely reſolved to attach himſelf to your Majeſty, and to keep meaſures with the Prince of Orange only as far as it is at preſent neceſſary not to furniſh him with occaſions for making his ill will break forth.

forth. He told me, that thoſe who were for reuniting the King of England and the Prince of Orange would be very glad that your Majeſty ſhould not do at preſent what the King of England deſires of you, in order to be able hereafter to find ſome means of making him lean to the Prince of Orange's ſide, which will become entirely impoſſible if your Majeſty yields to what his Britannick Majeſty at preſent expects from your friendſhip.

Several of Barillon's diſpatches beſides this one prove that James had formed a determined reſolution to levy the late King's revenue, whether parliament ſhould grant it or not. Barillon writes thus to his court, March 1, 1686. "Cependant la poſſeſſion fait une eſpece de droit, et ſa Majeſté Britannique paroit fort reſolu de s'y maintenir à quelque prix que ce ſoit." "Poſſeſſion, however, gives a ſort of right, and his Britannick Majeſty appears very reſolved to maintain it, be the conſequence what it will." On the 9th April, he writes thus to his court. "Le Roy continue à agir avec beaucoup de fermeté et d' hauteur, il ne me paroit point même avoir d' inquietude de l' avenir, quand le parlement ne lui accorderoit les revenues dont le feu Roy ſon frere jouiſſoit, et ſa reſolution ſemble priſe de s'y maintenir et d' en continuer la jouiſſance." "The King continues to act with much firmneſs and haughtineſs, he does not even appear uneaſy for the future, even though parliament ſhould not grant him the revenues which the King his brother enjoyed, and his reſolution ſeems determined, to maintain and continue the poſſeſſion of them."

In the *Depot.*

In the *Depot.*

Even when James ſubmitted to act by a parliament, he ſcorned to court the members. Barillon writes thus to his court on the 30th of April, 1685. "Ce n'eſt pas le chemin que ce Prince pretend tenir; et rien n'eſt plus oppoſé á ce qu'il á deſſein de faire. Il aura une conduite ferme et reſolue. L' introduction faite par le Comte de Danby d' acheter les voix du parlement a ſi mal reuſſi, qu'on ne ſonge plus á s'en ſervir; et à dire

In the *Depot.*

la verité, ſi on recommençoit à le mettre en practique on tomberoit dans les memes inconveniens. Le Roy d' Angleterre veut que ſes affaires ſe faſſent, par la neceſſité ou le parlement ſe trouvera de lui accorder ce qu'il eſt reſolue de prendre, ſi on ne lui l' accorde pas; c'eſt à dire les revenus dont le feu Roy jouiſſoit." "This is not the road which this Prince intends to follow; and nothing is more oppoſite to what he deſigns to do. He will keep a firm and reſolute conduct. The method introduced by the Earl of Danby of buying votes in parliament ſucceeded ſo ill, that it is no longer thought of, and to ſpeak the truth, if it ſhould again be attempted to be put in practice, the ſame inconveniences would attend it. The King of England wants to do his buſineſs by putting the parliament under a neceſſity of granting him what he is reſolved to take, if they do not; that is, the deceaſed King's revenues." And on the 13th of December 1685, he writes thus: "Le grand treſorier vaudroit auſſi qu' on employat de l' argent à gagner des voix dans le parlement. Le Roy de la Grande Bretagne a de la repugnance à prendre ce chemin, ayant connu quels inconveniens il en eſt arrivé par le paſſé, parceque tous ceux qui vouloient avoir de l' argent ou des charges ſe ſignaloient contre la cour pour y parvenir." The Treaſurer was alſo for employing money to gain the votes in parliament. The King of Great Britain was againſt taking this ſtep, having formerly known the inconveniences which happened from it; becauſe all thoſe who wanted money or poſts diſtinguiſhed themſelves againſt the court to obtain them."

In the *Depot.*

In the *Depot.*

Barillon's diſpatch of the 30th of May 1685, mentions that he had ſome time before received a remittance of one million 500,000 livres, and that he had told King James it was to be employed in his ſervice if needed. But Barillon's private inſtructions were not to give it unleſs in the event of the King's diſſolving his

his parliament, and being obliged to uſe force againſt his ſubjects. For on the 17th of May 1685, Barillon writes thus: " Votre Majeſté me permet, par ſa derniere depêche, de donner toute la ſomme que je pourray avoir entre les mains, ſi je vois le parlement caſſé, et que le Roy d' Angleterre ſoit reduit à contraindre ſes ſujets par la force à ſe ſoumettre." " Your Majeſty permits me, by your laſt diſpatch, to give all the ſum that I may have in my hands, if I ſee the parliament diſſolved, and the King of England reduced to make his ſubjects ſubmit by force."

In the *Depot.*

It appears from Barillon's diſpatch of the 16th of April 1685, that his objects were to get the King to act without parliaments, and to ſeparate himſelf from Holland, and that the lures he threw out were the aſſiſtance of France to eſtabliſh the King's authority and the Roman catholic religion; that James and lord Rocheſter converted theſe lures into reaſons for France's giving an immediate ſupply of money; but that Sunderland (who probably ſaw better where France pointed) went farther, and directly propoſed an alliance with France, and a total ſeparation from the Prince of Orange and the houſe of Auſtria; and that Lord Godolphin in all theſe matters ſteered a moderate courſe. In this diſpatch he ſays he had told James, that the intentions of France were " de l' ayder à maintenir ſon autorité, et à etablir la religion catholique; que ces choſes paroiſſoient unies, et ne ſe pouvoient ſeparer;"——" to aſſiſt him to ſupport his authority, and eſtabliſh the catholic religion; that theſe things appeared united and unſeparable:" That James preſſed for money from France ſaying he could not obſerve " une conduite ferme et haute, ſi on n' eſt bien aſſuré d' un ſecours qui ne puiſſe manquer;"——" a firm and high conduct if he was not ſecured of a ſupply which could not fail:" And that lord Rocheſter in aſking money alſo from France for his maſter, uſed theſe words: " Qu'il etoit queſtion preſentement d' etablir ſon autorité, et de donner une forme aſſuré au gouvernement;

gouvernement ; que je connoiſſois aſſez combien il importe d' être en état icy, de donner la loy et non pas de la reçevoir." " That the queſtion at preſent was, to eſtabliſh his (*i. e.* the King's) authority, and give a firm form to government ; that I ſufficiently knew of what importance it was to be in a condition here of giving the law and not receiving it."

The diſpatch then relates the ſentiments of lord Sunderland and lord Godolphin, as follows :

Extrait d' une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

Avril 16, 1685.

" Milord Sonderland à compris d'abord qu'il étoit bien plus à propos de prendre des engagemens formels et reciproques ; que le Roy ſon maitre doit rechercher tout ce qui lui peut aſſurer l' amitié de votre Majeſté. Il poſe pour un fondement aſſuré, que le parlement, le Prince d' Orange, et la maiſon d' Autriche doivent être conſiderés comme ayant des intereſts inſeparables, et qu'il eſt impoſſible de deſunir ; qu' ainſi pour être bien avec votre Majeſté, il faut non ſeulement s'abſtenir de toute liaiſon avec eux, mais meme s'en ſeparer avec éclat, et lever le maſque quand il en ſera tems ; c'eſt à dire, après que le parlement aura accordé les revenus. Je ſuis demeuré dans une grande retenue ſur les nouveaux engagemens qu' on pourroit prendre ; je me ſuis contenté d' inſinuer la propoſition que votre Majeſté m'a ordonné de faire à cet égard, et j'ai cru devoir la faire naitre plus comme une ſuite naturelle de ce qui ſe traitoit, que comme une ouverture de la part de votre Majeſté. Milord Godolfin m'a parlé dans le même ſens que milord Rocheſter ; quoiqu'il ſoit du ſecret, il n'a pas grand credit, et ſonge ſeulement à ſe conſerver par une conduite ſage et moderée. Je ne penſe pas que s'il en etoit cru, on prit des liaiſons avec votre Majeſté,

Majeſté, qui puſſent aller à ſe paſſer entierement de parlement, et à rompre nettement avec le Prince d' Orange.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Monſ. de Barillon to Louis the XIVth.——Different counſels of Sunderland and Godolphin.

April 16, 1685.

"LORD Sunderland was directly of opinion, that it was much more proper to take formal and reciprocal engagements; that the King, his maſter, ought to court every thing which could enſure him of your Majeſty's friendſhip, he fixes it for a fundamental principle, that the parliament, the Prince of Orange, and the Houſe of Auſtria ought to be conſidered as having inſeparable intereſts, and that it is impoſſible to diſunite them; and that therefore to be well with your Majeſty, it is neceſſary not only to refrain from all alliance with them, but even to ſeparate from them with eclat, and take off the maſk when it ſhall be time, that is to ſay, when the parliament ſhall have granted the revenues. I kept upon the reſerve concerning the new engagements which might be taken; I contented myſelf with inſinuating the propoſition which your Majeſty ordered me to make on that head, and thought it was better to let it ariſe as a natural conſequence of what was treating, than as an overture on the part of your Majeſty. Lord Godolphin talked to me in the ſame ſtile with Lord Rocheſter; though he be in the ſecret, he has no great credit, and thinks only to keep himſelf in by a wiſe and moderate conduct. I do not think that if his opinion was truſted, that they would enter into engagements with your Majeſty to go on entirely without a parliament, and to break totally with the Prince of Orange."

After

After Monmouth's rebellion was quelled, and the parliament had ſettled a vaſt revenue upon James, he ſtill continued, as Barillon relates, to beg a ſubſidy from France. A diſpute between him and France, at this time, ſhews the minute attention of his genius to money. It was mentioned in chapter 3d of the Appendix to the Review, that James, when Duke of York, had offered to lend his own money in France, as a mark of his confidence in Louis, and to facilitate a money treaty with his brother, which was then in proſpect. Barillon now writes, on the 13th of September, 1685, that the Duke's money had been lent out, in Courtin's name, to the Hotel de Ville at Paris, that James was demanding it from Courtin, that Courtin in accompting for the money, deducted ten or twelve thouſand livres becauſe the fund was fallen, but that James inſiſted the ſum lent ſhould be remitted without any deduction. Barillon adds, "Il s'agit des dix ou douze milles francs de plus ou de moins. Cette perte quoique modique ſeroit regardé ici avec chagrin, et comme un manque de conſideration pour ſa Majeſté Britannique." "The diſpute is about ten or twelve thouſand livres, more or leſs. This loſs, although moderate, would be looked upon here with chagrine, and as a want of conſideration for his Britannick Majeſty." About the ſame time Barillon received orders from his court, to let James know, that they would give no ſubſidy at preſent, becauſe they thought he ſtood in no need of it. And Barillon writes, on the 25th October, 1685, that he had paid in all to James only 800,000 livres.

In the *Dépot.*

The remittances from France above-mentioned, did not eſcape the vigilance of Lord Preſton, the King's ambaſſador at Paris, who had been kept ignorant of them by both courts. Among Lord Preſton's letters there is the following one.

Lord

Lord Preſton to King James.——Adviſes him of remittances of money from France to England.——Speaks of French parliamentary penſioners in the late reign.

A private advice to the King.

Paris, April 28, S. N. 1685.

In Mr. Graham's poſſeſſion.

"YOUR Majeſty may be pleaſed to remember, that ſome weeks ſince I acquainted you with an advice which I had received, that a conſiderable ſum of money was returned from hence into England immediately after the death of the late King; I am now, Sir, aſſured of the truth of it, and that it was remitted by the court banquier, Monſ. Gruſle. I cannot poſſibly aſſign the ſum to your Majeſty, but by conjectures, which are ſomething probable, it ſhould have been about a million of this money, which is about 83 or 84000 pounds of ours. I know alſo that one of Monſ. Gruſle's ſervants went about that time into England, he being not willing, as is likely, to have truſted ſuch an affair to the ordinary poſt. That I might have better grounds for what I inform your Majeſty of, I have privately informed myſelf by ſome banquiers how the exchange went about that time betwixt London and this place, and they all agree, that ſome weeks after the King's death, the exchange fell conſiderably, becauſe that the great neeed which they who remitted the money had of bills, obliged them to take them at any rate. But the remitting was quickly at a ſtop, and in eight or ten days the exchange mounted to its ordinary train. I will not preſume to write my conjectures to your Majeſty for what uſe this money may be deſigned, and I wiſh and hope, with all my heart, that my jealouſies may be vain. But, perhaps, your Majeſty will think fit to have an eye that no practices may be ſet on foot with our new members of parliament. I hope, however, no great ill of that kind can be done, ſince,

by

by good fortune, we ſhall have very few of their old penſioners amongſt us."

In the *Depot.*

Soon after this, James renewed the defenſive treaty with the Dutch, and Barillon, in his letters of 26th November, and 13th December, 1685, imputes it to France's having refuſed him the ſubſidy he aſked. In the laſt of theſe letters he repreſents James as extremely out of humour with France on this account, and that he talked of holding the balance of power in his hands.

Theſe things created a coldneſs for ſome time between France and James. During this interval James applied to the court of France in defence of the principality of Orange; but Louis and his miniſters treated his application with a haughty diſregard.

There are the following letters on this ſubject in King William's box.

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.——The King interpoſes about the principality of Orange.

"I Have received the honour of your Highneſs's letter of the 30th of January, upon which the King commanded me to write to Sir William Trumball, and I did ſo, in the following words. "His Majeſty would have you let Monſieur de Croiſſy know, that he cannot think that the anſwers you have received upon your memorials and inſtances concerning the proceedings at Orange, are ſuch as he ought to be ſatisfied with; and that therefore his Majeſty hopes the moſt Chriſtian King will, upon further conſideration, have more regard to the inſtances his Majeſty has made in behalf of the Prince of Orange's juſt pretenſions." This the King

King commanded me to write as being fit, though he does not expect much from it. The greatest happiness I can ever propose to myself, is to be able to serve your Highness on this or any other occasion, by which you might see with how much zeal and respect, I am

Your Highness's

Whitehall, Most faithful, most humble,
Jan. 26, 1685-6. And most obedient serv ant,
SUNDERLAND P."

Extract of several letters from Sir William Trumball at Paris.——Concerning his application in favour of the principality of Orange.

December 5, 1685.

"I HAVE communicated the affair of the principality of Orange to the Dutch Ambassador, and received an account from him of the several instances he has made from time to time to this court, but without any effect. The same day I entered into that matter with Monsr. de Croissy, who told me, that the Most Christian King had sent orders to Monsieur Barillon to speak with his Majesty about it: that he could give me no other answer than what he had often given to the Dutch ambassador and others, which was, that the King acknowledged no sovereignty there; that although he had left the Prince of Orange for some time in quiet, so long as his conduct might deserve it, yet now having opposed his Most Christian Majesty so openly, he did not think fit to keep any longer the same measures, and that all was now done there, his troops being come away. When I urged the treaty of Nimeguen, by which the Prince of Orange was restored to his said principality, with all the rights, &c. in the same condition and the same manner that he had enjoyed before; and that I desired the Most Christian King to consider further, the near alliance between his Majesty and the Prince of Orange, obliged his Majesty to interpose in a matter of such

ſuch conſequence; he replied, that he would ſpeak to the King of it, and repreſent what I had ſaid."

December 12 "As to the affair of Orange, he ſaid, this King could give me no other anſwer, than to the ſame purpoſe he himſelf had given me before, that all was now done there, and the troops come away; that this King reſolving to have but one religion in his country, thought himſelf obliged, in conſcience and juſtice, to take order for their converſions in that place as he had done in others; which being done, the temporal juriſdiction was left in the ſame condition that it was before. That he hoped the King, my maſter, would be ſatisfied with this anſwer, and not interpoſe in a thing wherein he had no intereſt, but leave this King free to do as he thought fit in his own dominions.

This was the ſubſtance of his anſwer; adding, that the right of ſovereignty did not belong to the Prince of Orange, but to the houſe of Longueville, which the King had taken care to put into a courſe of trial before a competent judicature, and would be determined in dué time."

January 2. "I gave in yeſterday ſeveral memorials: That concerning the Prince of Orange, Monſ. de Croiſſy ſeemed extremely to reſent, that his Majeſty ſhould again interpoſe in a matter, which, he ſaid, did not at all concern him."

January 9. "The anſwer I received yeſterday about the principality of Orange, is, in all reſpects, the ſame I had before, whereof having given your Lordſhip an account at large, I need not repeat any part of it. The King's troops are come again into that town (as your Lordſhip will find by the extract I ſent the laſt poſt) and the miniſters ſtill detained in priſon, which proceeding is more rigorous than the others received here, all the miniſters being ordered to go out of the kingdom, which is what thoſe of Orange deſire."

Lord

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.——On the same subject.

Whitehall, February 12th, 1685-6.

"I Have acquainted the King with what your Highneſs was pleaſed to write me in your letter of the 12th: upon which his Majeſty commanded me to ſend your Highneſs a copy of Sir William Trumball's laſt memorial; and to aſſure your Highneſs, that his Majeſty has done what he could poſſibly think fit to do in this affair of Orange, towards your ſatisfaction, having ſpoke to the ambaſſador of the French King here, as warmly as his envoy had order to ſpeak there; and he does now deſire to know what your Highneſs would have done farther, being very intent upon doing all he can.

It is a great mortification to me, that a buſineſs which paſſes through my hands, and that is of ſo great concern to your Highneſs, ſhould have ſuch ill ſucceſs. If any pains or endeavours of mine could contribute to your ſervice, I ſhould think them well employed, wiſhing for nothing ſo much in the world as to be able to let your Highneſs ſee how zealouſly and how truly I am, Sir,

Your Highneſs's
Moſt faithful, moſt humble,
And obedient ſervant,
SUNDERLAND, P."

Extract of a letter from Sir William Trumbull to Lord Preſident Sunderland.—On the ſame ſubject.—France refuſes ſatisfaction.

Paris, Feb. 17-27, 1685-6.

"MOnſieur de Croiſſy continues ſtill indiſpoſed with the gout, and yeſterday gave audience in his bed concerning the memorial I had preſented about Orange. He told me he had repreſented it to the King, who continued ſtill in his former reſolution, that he acknowledged no ſovereignty of Orange to belong to the Prince, and that although, for ſome reaſons, he did forbear to have that right adjudged, yet that it was his inconteſtibly, and that he had no other anſwer to give me; adding this late occaſion of diſpleaſure, by reaſon of the Prince's refuſal to deliver the children of one Monſ. Boſe (a counſellor of the parliament of Tholouſe, and formerly of the proteſtant religion, but lately changed). Monſ. Boſe had ſent his children thither, intending afterwards to eſcape himſelf: But ſince he made inſtances by Monſ. d'Avaux to have them ſent back, which, he ſaid, the Prince denied, and inſiſted further to keep what money they had brought with them, as a proviſion and ſubſiſtance for them. He told me the King had given orders to ſtop the Prince's receiving any part of his revenues of Orange, till he had given ſatisfaction in this matter."

James, however, being bent upon the eſtabliſhment of popery and of his own power at home, reſiſted, during his whole reign, the endeavours of the Prince of Orange to engage him in meaſures or alliances hoſtile to France. The following, among other letters from him to the Prince of Orange, in King William's box, ſhew how determined he was upon peace with France; and

and that the only war he approved of was againſt the Turks.

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.—Deſirous of peace in Europe.

Windſor, September 1, 1685.

"ON Saturday laſt I had yours of the 30th of Auguſt and the 3d of September both together; by the firſt of which, I find, you then had received an account of the good news from Hungary, which was as welcome to me as any body; and I make no doubt will contribute as much to the peace and quiet of Europe, as the good condition it has pleaſed God to put my affairs in; and I am ſure I will ſtill do my part, that the peace Chriſtendom now enjoys may be continued. I have not time to ſay more now, but that I ſhall ſtill be as kind to you as you can deſire."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Deſirous of peace in Europe, and of friendſhip with the States.

Whitehall, November 6, 1685.

"I HAVE had yours of the 9th from Loo, and am glad to find you ſo well ſatisfied with the account you had from the ambaſſadors, and I ſhall ſtill do my part to preſerve peace in Chriſtendom, and the good underſtanding which is between the States and me. As for news, there is little ſtirring here. On Monday the parliament is to ſit. I have ſo much buſineſs now upon my hands, that you muſt not wonder if my letters be not longer; and you may be aſſured you ſhall always find me as kind to you as you can deſire.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Anxious to preſerve peace.

Whitehall, February 2, 1685-6.

"I HAVE had yours of the 5th, in which you ſay, ſome, where you are, begin to be alarmed at a voyage the King of France is to make this ſpring. All that I can ſay upon it is, that I do not think he will do any thing to diſturb the peace of Chriſtendom for ſeveral reaſons, and his miniſters here ſay it alſo; and I do what I can to let them ſee the inconveniencies that may happen to their maſter, ſhould he begin a war, and will ſtill do what is in my power to prevent it. As for news, the Duke of Grafton had this morning the misfortune to kill Jack Talbot, the Earl of Shrewſbury's brother; it was Talbot gave the firſt offence, and ſent the challenge, as I am told. The Duke of Grafton is withdrawn, and I have not heard what the Coroner's inqueſt have found it. It is late, and I have not time to ſay more, but that I ſhall always be as kind to you as you can deſire.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.——On the ſame ſubject.

Whitehall, February 16, 1686.

"I HAD yours of the 19th by the letters which came on Friday laſt, but ſo late that I had not then time to anſwer it. I ſee by it, you have ſtill ſome apprehenſions, as if France intended, by themſelves, or ſome of their allies, to interrupt the peace of Chriſtendom; I confeſs I hardly believe it, I am ſure I hope they will not, and they endeavour to perſuade me they have peaceable intentions. As for news, there is little ſtirring here, and beſides I am called away to go to the play,

play, ſo have not time to ſay more, but that you ſhall ever find me very kind to you.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Is not moved by French encroachments.—Deſires only war againſt the Turks.

Whitehall, October 19, 1686.

"I Have now two of yours to anſwer; the firſt of the 14th, which I had by Mr. Skelton, and the other of the 17th, which I had not time to anſwer by the laſt poſt; ſince when I have got a blow with a twig in my left eye, as I was a-hunting on Saturday laſt, which made my eye a little ſore, and though it be now, God be thanked, pretty well, yet I dare not write much; ſo that all I ſhall ſay upon what you ſay, as to the affair of Namur and Hunninguen, is, that as to the firſt, the Spaniards have had a very civil and ſatisfactory anſwer to it; ſo that that is at an end. For the other, I do not think it of ſuch conſequence, as to the Germans, as to ſet all Chriſtendom in a flame, except that they have a mind to fall upon France; and I am ſtill of the ſame mind I was to do my part, that there may be no war but againſt the Turk. You ſhall always find me as kind to you as you can deſire.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.-----To the ſame pu poſe.

Whitehall, March 8, 1687.

"I Have now received yours of the 11th from Dieren, and by it find you expected my daughter there with you that night. I ſuppoſe you have by this ſeen the anſwer the emperor's envoy in France had to the memorial he gave in to that King, by which you

will ſee the truce is not like to be broken, ſo that the war againſt the Turk may be ſtill carried on. I ſhall ſtill do my part to preſerve the peace of Chriſtendom. It is late, ſo that I have not time to ſay any more, but that I ſhall always be as kind to you as you can deſire.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Is deſirous to guarantee the twenty years truce.

Whitehall, May 10, 1687.

"I Have had yours of the 13th, by which I find, that you in Holland are not alarmed at the King of France's journey to Luxembourg. Thoſe who are jealous of it, will, I am confident, be ſoon out of their pain. I ſuppoſe Mr. Dyckvelt will give you an account of two memorials have been given me, the one by the Count Caunitz, and the other by the Spaniſh ambaſſador, both of them to deſire me to endeavour to perſuade the King of France to let me be guarantee of the truce. You may be ſure I will do my part to perſuade the King to it, ſince nothing can contribute more than that to continue the peace in Chriſtendom. I have not time to ſay more, but that you ſhall ſtill find me as kind as you can deſire.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Rejoices at ſucceſs againſt the Turks.—Intent on the peace of Chriſtendom.

Windſor, September 19, 1687.

"I Received yours of the 15th juſt before I left the Bath, but coming then away for this place, I could not let you know it ſooner. I have had a full account of what has paſſed in Hungary, and hope by the next letters from thence to hear what advantage the Germans have made of their victory, and that at leaſt they

they will get good winter quarters by it. The good ſucceſs the Venetians have had in the Morea, will, I hope, alſo have a good effect as to the peace of Chriſtendom, which is what I always ſo much deſire ſhould be continual. I came to this place on Saturday, and hunted in my way to Wincheſter hither, had a very good chace, and got to my journey's end before night. The Queen is yet at Bath, and will come from thence ſo ſoon as ſhe has uſed the remedies there as long as uſually they do. This place affords no news, and ſo have no more to ſay, but that you ſhall ſtill find me kind to you.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

There are in King William's box the following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, concerning the proſecution of the Duke of Monmouth's adherents.

James the IId to the Prince of Orange. —— Calls the Weſtern circuit Jefferys's campaign.

Windſor, September 10, 1685.

"I Received yours of the 13th ſo late on Tueſday laſt, that I had not then time to let you know I had it, by which, I find, you were well ſatisfied with the review you had made of your troops. I have now but little news to tell you, all things being very quiet at preſent here, though the preſbyterian and republican party are ſtill very buſy, and have as much mind to rebel again as ever. Lord Chief Juſtice is making his campaign in the weſt, and when the parliament meets, ſome of the peers which are in cuſtody will be tried. I intend to go to Wincheſter on Monday next, and from thence to Portſmouth, and to be back here the Saturday following, which is all I have to ſay now, but that you ſhall always find me to be as kind to you as you can deſire."

James the Second to the Prince of Orange.—Calls the Western circuit Jefferys's campaign.—Enumerates the detail of severities.

Windsor, September 24, 1685.

"SINCE I came back from Wincheſter I received yours of the 21ſt from Loo, by Mr. Sidney, and having been a fox-hunting on Tueſday laſt, had not then time to let you know it: I was this day again at the ſame ſport, the weather being now very proper for it, having ended ſtag-hunting the day I returned hither. As for news there is little ſtirring, but that Lord Chief Juſtice has almoſt done his campaigne; he has already condemned ſeveral hundreds, ſome of which are already executed, more are to be, and the others ſent to the plantations; which is all I have now time to tell you, but that I ſhall always be as kind to you as you can deſire.

James IId to the Prince of Orange.—Intereſts himſelf for Orange.—Intends to get Saxſton pilloried by one trial and hanged by another.

Whitehall, January 15, 1686.

"I Charged my daughter by the laſt poſt, to let you know, how I came not to write to you then, in anſwer to yours of the 11th, ſince when I have had yours of the 18th, and you may eaſily believe I am ſorry Sir William Trumbul has had no better an anſwer to the memorial he gave in concerning the affair of Orange; I ſhall ſtill continue doing my part in preſſing it. Lord Delamer was tried yeſterday, and quitted by his peers, he had good luck, as well as juſt judges, that the only poſitive witneſs which came in againſt him, was proven to have ſworn falſely, for though the reſt of the evidence againſt him was only hear-ſays, yet all the world was ſatisfied, he did deſign to have riſen with Lord

Lord Macklesfield and Lord Brandon. As for Saxston, which was the perjured witness against Lord Delamer, I have ordered he shall be first prosecuted for perjury, that he may keep company with Oates, and then after he has stood in the pillory, to be tried for being with the Duke of Monmouth in arms."

King James to the Prince of Orange.——Complains of the Prince for giving refuge to the rebels in Holland.

Whitehall, March 7, 1686.

"I Would not let this bearer return into Holland without writing to you by him, and must need tell you that it does really seem strange to me that so many of the rebels should be connived at Amsterdam, and other towns in Holland, and other of the provinces, and permitted to live so publicly as they do: I have charged the bearer to speak to you more at large upon this affair, which is of great concern to me; for so long as those rebellious people are permitted to stay there, they will still have the opportunities of corresponding with the disaffected here and stirring them up to sedition, whereas if they were driven out of the seven provinces, they could not be so dangerous. Pray consider of this, and how important it is to me, to have those people destroyed: but of this and what else I have to say must refer it to this bearer, and to assure you, you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Pleased that the rebels are to be expelled from Holland.—Is to make an encampment at Hounslow.

Whitehall, May 7, 1686.

"WHEN I came from Newhall on Tuesday night, where I had been a-stag-hunting and had very good sport, I found both yours of the 7th and 10th

10th here, by the laſt of which I find the States of Holland had agreed to comply with the treaties in baniſhing out of their provinces thoſe of my rebellious ſubjects, which have ſheltered themſelves ſo long there; and by what you ſay make no doubt but that the States General will do the like, and I am ſure you will do your part to have it effectually put in execution, it being a thing of the laſt conſequence for the peace and quiet of my kingdoms to have thoſe turbulent men driven out of the ſeven provinces, for when once removed from thence, they can do no miſchief, tho' the republican ſpirit increaſes every day amongſt us here; but ſhould they be but conived there, they would ſtill be contriving new deſigns to diſturb me, for that reſtleſs and rebellious party will never be quiet. I am now preparing to go to Windſor next week, for moſt of the Summer, and on the 20th of this month I am to have twelve battalions of foot encamped on Houndſlow-heath, as for the horſe and dragoons I do not intend to have them there till the middle of next month; as for the news you had out of Spain as if the French ſquadron was arrived in the bay of Cadiz, it was a miſtake, for I have a frigate, newly come from thence, in a fortnight's time, that ſaw none of them there when he ſailed thence. By the laſt letters from Paris I hope that affair will be accommodated, which is all I ſhall ſay now, but that you ſhall ever find me as kind to you as you can deſire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.——To the ſame purpoſe.

Windſor, May 18, 1686.

"SINCE I wrote to you by the laſt poſt I have had three, the one by the poſt of the 21ſt, by which I find the States General had reſolved to baniſh my rebellious ſubjects out of the ſeven provinces, and I make

make no doubt of your doing your part to have it put in execution, ſince you know of how great concern it is to me, to have thoſe ſeditious people ſent away from thence. I have another letter from you from captain Steuart of an older date, and one from you alſo by M. General Mackay, with whom I have ſpoken fully with, upon all the ſeveral heads you charged him to ſpeak with me of, and to aſſure you that I eaſily believe all he has ſaid to me from you, and you need not fear that it is in any body's power to do you ill offices with me. As for what concerns the brigade of my ſubjects which are with you, he will give you a particular account, of what paſt between us upon that ſubject. Having not time now to do it myſelf, nor to ſay any more, but that you ſhall always find me as kind to you as you can deſire."

Barillon in his diſpatch of the 26th of July 1685, ſays that he ſaw the Duke of Monmouth paſs through the apartments of the palace to his interview with the King; that his arms were tied behind, but his hands free; that none but the two ſecretaries of ſtate were preſent at the interview; and in his letter of the 30th of July, that the Duke gave no information againſt the Prince of Orange. In the *Depot.*

Barillon ſays, that the Duke in the Tower deſired to ſee his Dutcheſs, that ſhe refuſed unleſs Lord Clarendon ſhould be preſent, and that when ſhe went, the converſation was "aigre de part et d' autre." "Sharp both on the one ſide and the other."

In the Memoirs to which the preſent papers are an appendix, there is an anecdote related upon tradition of King James's having paid a viſit to the Dutcheſs of Monmouth on the morning of her huſband's execution, and left with her a grant of his forfeiture. Barillon's diſpatch of the 17th of June 1686, confirms one part of In the *Depot.*

of the ſtory. It contains theſe words, "Touts les biens de M. le Duc de Monmouth en Ecoſſe et en Angleterre lui (*i. e.* the Dutcheſs) ont eté rendu." "All the Duke of Monmouth's eſtate in Scotland and England has been reſtored to his Dutcheſs."

BOOKS III. and IV.

UPON the defeat of Monmouth's rebellion, King James became intoxicated with his proſperity. Inſtead of diſbanding his army he encamped it on Hounſlow-Heath, and reſolved to make it the great inſtrument of his power.

Barillon's diſpatches are ſtrewn thick with the expreſſions of an arbitrary diſpoſition, which flew from James when he felt himſelf no longer under any controul.

The rebellion was no ſooner begun than Barillon in his letter of the 25th of June 1685, informed his court of the uſe which James was to make of it. The words of the diſpatch are: "Il me paroit que le Roy d' Angleterre, a été fort aiſé d' avoir une pretexte de lever des troupes, et qu'il croit que l'entrepriſe de M. le Duc de Monmouth ne ſervira qu' à le rendre plus maitre de ſon pays." "It ſeems to me that the King of England is very glad to have a pretence for raiſing troops, and he believes that the Duke of Monmouth's enterprize will ſerve only to make him ſtill more maſter of his country." In the *Depot.*

On the 30th of July 1685, Barillon writes thus to his court: "Le projet du Roy d'Angleterre eſt d'abolir entierement les milices, dont il a reconnu l'inutilité et le danger en cette derniere occaſion, et de faire s'il eſt poſſible, que le parlement etabliſſe le fond deſtiné pour les milices à l'entretien des troupes reglées. Tout cela change entierement l'état de ce pays ici, et met les Anglois dans une condition bien differente de celle ou ils ont été juſques à preſent. Ils le connoiſſent, et voyent bient qu'un Roy de differente religion que celle du pays, et qui ſe trouve armé, ne renonçera pas aiſement aux avantages que lui donne la defaite des rebelles, et les troupes In the *Depot.*

troupes qu'il a ſur pied." "The King of England's ſcheme is to aboliſh the militia entirely, the uſeleſſneſs and danger of which he found on this laſt occaſion, and if poſſible to make the parliament apply the fund intended for the militia, to maintain the regular troops. All this entirely changes the ſtate of this country, and puts the Engliſh in a different condition from what they have been in till now. They know it, and perceive very well that a King of a different religion from that of the country, and who is armed, will not eaſily renounce thoſe advantages which the defeat of the rebels, and the troops he has on foot, give him."

In the *Depot.* On the 6th of Auguſt 1685, Barillon writes to his court thus: "Le Roy d'Angleterre m'a dit, que quoi qu'il arrive, il conſervera les troupes ſur pied, quand meme le parlement ne lui donneroit rien pour les entretenir. Il connoit bien, que le parlement verra mal volontiers cet etabliſſement, mais il veut être aſſuré du dedans de ſon pays, et il croit ne le pouvoir être ſans cela." "The King of England told me, that let what would happen he would keep the troops on foot, even though the parliament ſhould not give him any thing towards their maintenance. He knows very well the parliament will very unwillingly ſee this eſtabliſhment; but he wants to be ſure of himſelf at home, and believes he cannot be ſo without it."

In the *Depot.* On the 8th of July 1686, Barillon writes, "Il careſſe beaucoup les officiers de ſes troupes, et s'explique aſſez ouvertement, qu'il n'en conſervera point dont il ne ſe croit entierement aſſuré." "He careſſes the officers much, and explains himſelf openly enough, that he will keep none but thoſe on whom he may entirely depend."

King James could not conceal even from the Prince of Orange the pleaſure which he felt from the encampment of his army at Hounſlow.

King

King James to the Prince of Orange.

Windsor, June 29, 1689.

"I Was sorry to find by yours of the 2d of July, that you had had sore eyes, but am very glad to find it now over, and had lasted but so short a time; I believe it was the extreme heats which caused it. All the troops I intended to have at Hounslow are now camped there, in the new camp I designed they should be; they continue very healthy there, having been but four buried since the first camping of the foot upon that heath. I was there yesterday and saw them for the first time in battalle altogether; they are all good men, and the horse and dragoons well mounted, and very orderly. To-morrow the Queen's and my daughter are to dine with me at the camp. I have not time to say more, the post being ready to go, but assure you of my being as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

On the 29th of October 1685, Barillon writes to his court. "Il (James) ajouta, que son dessein étoit de faire revoquer par le parlement l' Acte du Teste, et l'Acte de Habeas Corpus; dont l'un est la destruction la religion catholique, et l'autre de l'autorité royale." "He (James) added, that his design was to make the parliament revoke the Test Act, and the Habeas Corpus act; one of which was the destruction of the catholic religion, and the other of the royal authority." In the *Depot.*

On the 10th of December 1685, Barillon represents the sentiments both of Charles and James upon the habeas corpus act, that great charter of English liberty: "Le feu Roy d'Angleterre, et celui cy, m'ont souvent dit, qu'un gouvernement ne peut subsister avec une telle loy." "The deceased King of England, and the present one, have often said to me, that a government could not subsist with such a law." In the *Depot.*

James

In the *Depot.*

James had the idea of converting even his fleet into an inſtrument of his power at home. Barillon writes thus to his court on the 19th December, 1686. "Le Roy d'Angleterre continue à faire travailler avec ſoin au re-établiſſement de ſes vaiſſeaux. Il n'y a nulle apparence que ce ſoit dans le deſſein de faire une guerre au dehors; mais ce Prince eſt perſuadé, qu'il eſt fort convenable à ſes interêts de remettre la marine de l'Angleterre en meilleur état qu'elle n'etoit, et qu'il viendra bien plutot à bout des choſes qu'il deſire de ſes peuples, quand ils le verront avoir une armée et une flotte prête pour ſe faire obeir au dedans, et pour empecher que les factieux ne puiſſent recevoir des ſecours conſiderables du dehors, ſi les affaires venoient au point d'une rupture ouverte dans le dedans de l'Angleterre." "The King of England continues to carry on the refitting of his ſhips with diligence. There is no appearance that this is deſigned for a foreign war; but he is perſuaded, that it is very neceſſary for his intereſts to put the marine of England in a better ſtate than it was, and that he ſhall much ſooner gain what he deſires from his people, when they ſee he has an army and fleet ready to make himſelf obeyed at home, and to prevent the factious from receiving any conſiderable aſſiſtance from abroad, if affairs ſhould come to the point of an open rupture in England.

In the *Depot.*

On the 29th of July 1686, Barillon writes to his court, "Le Roy d'Angleterre temoigne ouvertement ſa joye de ſe trouver en état de faire des coups hardis et d'autorité. Il recoit avec plaiſir les complimens qu'on lui fait ſur cela. Il m'en a fort parlé, et m'a fait entendre qu'il ne ſe relachera point." The King of England openly ſhews his joy at finding himſelf in a condition to ſtrike bold and authoritative ſtrokes. He receives with pleaſure the compliments which are made him upon it. He has ſpoken much to me about it, and given me to underſtand that he will not relax."

Lord

Lord Rocheſter ſaw too late the conſequences of the doctrine of the King's independence upon parliament, with which he had flattered him in the firſt months of his reign; and wiſhed, but in vain, to repair the miſchief. Barillon, on the 11th March 1686, relates a converſation between the King and Lord Rocheſter on this head: "Que ſon ſentiment étoit toujours, qu'on Roy d'Angleterre étoit bien plus conſiderable, et bien plus heureux, quand il étoit d'occord avec ſon parlement, et qu'il pouvoit en tirer les ſecours dont il a beſoin." Sa Majeſté Britannique a repondu, "Que ſon ſentiment etoit, que le parlement d'Angleterre ſeroit plus ſoumis, et plus diſpoſé a ſe bien conduire quand il verroit que ſans ſon ſecours on ſeroit venu à bout de tant des choſes importantes; et que ſa reſolution étoit de ne pas regner precairement." "That he (i. e. Rocheſter) always thought a King of England was much more conſiderable, and much more happy, when he was upon a good footing with his parliament, and that he could draw from them what ſupplies he ſtood in need of." His Britannick Majeſty anſwered, "That he was of opinion, the parliament of England would be more ſubmiſſive, and more diſpoſed to behave well, when they ſaw that without their aſſiſtance, ſo many matters of importance could be effectuated; and that his reſolution was, not to reign precariouſly." In the *Depot.*

Barillon, in the 29th of November 1685, to his court, deſcribes thus the external manner of James, when he prorogued his parliment. "Le prince repondit auſſi avec des marques de fierté et de colere ſur le viſage, que faiſſoit aſſez connoitre ſes ſentimens." "This Prince gave his anſwer likewiſe with marks of haughtineſs and anger upon his face, which made his ſentiments ſufficiently be known." In the *Depot.*

There is in King William's box, the following letter from the King to the Prince of Orange upon this prorogation.

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of parliament.

Whitehall, Dec. 1, 1685.

"I Have had yours of the 4th, in which you write to me about your concerns of Orange. I had this day anaccount from SirWilliam Trumbull, that he had ſpoken to Monſieur de Croiſſy about it, according to his orders, and I ſhall by the next order him to inſiſt, and preſs it ſtill, and will alſo ſpeak this night to Mr. Barillon about it, and will continue doing my part that you may have ſatisfaction. I am as ſorry as you can be, that I was obliged to prorogue the parliament; I hope when they meet next, they will be in better temper, and conſider the true intereſt of the nation, and not be deceived by ſome ill men who fill their ears with fears and jealouſies. As for news, Lord Brandon received his ſentence on Saturday laſt, and was to have been executed on Friday, but I have reprieved him, upon his having petitioned me for my mercy, and acknowledged his crimes, which is all I ſhall ſay now, but that you ſhall always find me as kind to you as you can deſire.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

There is alſo in the box the following letter from the King to the Prince concerning Lord Halifax, whom the King had diſmiſſed from his ſervice, becauſe he would not give his conſent to the abolition of the Teſts.

James

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Has removed Lord Halifax.

Whitehall, Oct. 20, 1685.

"SINCE the laſt poſt went hence, I have had yours of the 22d and 25th from Dieren; and if you have had as good weather where you are as we have had here, you will have had good hunting weather. As for news I have found it neceſſary for my ſervice to lay aſide Lord Halifax, now that the parliament is ſo near, for reaſons beſt known to myſelf. Lord Chamberlain is fallen very ſick at his houſe in the country, and I am told is in great danger. It is ſo late I have not time to ſay more to you, but to aſſure you of my being as kind to you as you as you can deſire."

The King's zeal for popery kept peace with his attempts to arbitrary power. Barillon writes to his court on the 30th April, 1685, that James had deſired the Lords Sunderland, Godolphin and Rocheſter to attend him to the door of the chapel, where he was to go with his guards and officers to his court; that the two firſt conſented, but the laſt refuſed. In the *Depot.*

It is probable that Lord Sunderland, even from the beginning, adopted his maſter's ſentiments in favour of popery. There is in the Depot the following diſpatch on this ſubject, ſo early as the month of July, 1685.

Extrait d'une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

"MILORD Sonderland eſt entré fort avant avec moi, et m'a paru informé à fond de ce qui s'eſt paſſé entre le Roy d'Angleterre et moi ſur le ſujet de la religion catholique. Ce miniſtre m'a dit, je ne ſçais pas ſi on voit en France les choſes comme elles ſont In the *Depot.*

icy, mais je défie ceux qui les voyent de prés de ne pas connoitre que le Roi mon maitre n'a rien dans le cœur ſi avant que d'établir la religion catholique ; qu'il ne peut même ſelon le bon ſens et la droit raiſon avoir d'autre but ; que ſans cela il ne ſera jamais en ſureté, et ſera toujours expoſé au zéle indiſcret de ceux qui échaufe-ront les peuples contre la catholicité, tant qu'elle ne ſera pas pleinement établie. If y a une autre choſe certaine, c'eſt que ce plan là ne peut réuſſir que par un concert et une liaiſon étroite avec le Roy votre maitre ; c'eſt un projet qui ne peut convenir qu'à lui, ni réuſſir que par lui ; toutes les autres puiſſances s'y oppoſeront ouvertement, ou le traverſeront ſous main. On ſçait bien que cela ne convient pas au Prince d'Orange, mais il ne ſera pas en état de l'empécher, ſi on veut en France ſe conduire comme il eſt néceſſaire, c'eſt a dire, menager l'amitié du Roy d'Angleterre et le ſoutenir dans ſon projet.

Je vois clairement l'apprehenſion qu'ont beaucoup de gens d'une liaiſon avec la France, et les efforts qu'on fait pour l'affoiblir ; mais cela ne ſera au pouvoir de perſonne ſi on n'en a pas envie en France ; c'eſt ſur quoi il faut que vous vous expliquiez nettement, et que vous faſſiez connoitre que le Roy votre maitre veut aider de bonne foi leRoy d'Angleterre à établir fermement icy la religion catholique."

Tranſlation.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.——Lord Sunderland engaged thoroughly in the intereſts of popery.

July 16, 1685.

"LORD Sunderland has entered very far with me, and appears to be informed to the bottom of what has paſſed between the King of England and myſelf upon the ſubject of the catholic religion. This miniſter ſaid to me, I do not know if they ſee things in France as they are here, but I defy thoſe who ſee them near, not to know that the King, my maſter, has nothing ſo much at heart, as to eſtabliſh the catholic religion; that he cannot, even according to good ſenſe and right reaſon, have any other end; that without it he will never be in ſafety, and always expoſed to the indiſcreet zeal of thoſe who will heat the people againſt the catholic religion as long as it is not fully eſtabliſhed. There is another thing certain, which is, that this plan cannot ſucceed but by a ſtrict concert and union with the King, your maſter; it is a project which is ſuitable only to him, and which cannot ſucceed but through him; all the other powers will openly oppoſe it, or counteract it under hand. It is well known that it is not ſuitable to the Prince of Orange, but he will not be in a condition to hinder it, if they conduct themſelves in France as is neceſſary; that is to ſay, if they manage the King of England's friendſhip, and ſupport him in his deſign.

I ſee clearly the apprehenſion many people have of an alliance with France, and the efforts they make to weaken it; but that will not be in the power of any one, if France does her part; it is upon this you muſt explain yourſelf clearly, and make it known that the King,

your maſter, will ſincerely aſſiſt the King of England in eſtabliſhing the catholic religion firmly here."

In this diſpatch Barillon repeats the following expreſſions of King James to him, " Qu'il avoit été elevé en France, et mangé le pain de votre Majeſté, et que ſon cœur étoit François." " That he had been brought up in France, and eat of your Majeſty's bread, and that his heart was French."

In the *Depot.* On the 26th March, 1686, Barillon gives his court the following account of the council of ſeven, mentioned in the Memoirs to which the preſent papers are an Appendix. " Le Comte de Puez à été joint aux autres Seigneurs Catholiques, que le Roy d'Angleterre conſulte, et qui s'aſſemble ſouvent avec milord Sonderland, pour deliberer ſur les affaires qui ſe preſente ; c'eſt un eſpece de conſeil, independent de tout autre, et dans lequel les reſolutions les plus importantes ſe prennent ; c'eſt a dire, celles qui regardent la religion." The Earl of Powis has been joined to the other Catholic Lords, whom the King of England conſults, and who often meet at Lord Sunderland's, to deliberate upon matters that offer ; it is a ſort of council, independent of any other, and in which the moſt important reſolutions are taken ; that is to ſay, thoſe which relate to religion."

In King William's box there are the two following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, which if not contradicted by other evidence, would do honour to his ſpirit of toleration.

King

King James to the Prince of Orange, Jan. 15th, 1686. ——Intreats him to give protection to regular Prieſts in Holland.

"I MUST now write to you about an affair, which, as a Chriſtian, and one who is concerned for you, I could not omit doing; it is to deſire you to hinder, by your authority, the baniſhing out of Rotterdam, and other towns in Holland, the regular prieſts, I mean the Monks, Friars and Jeſuits; ſince it will not only be a great hardſhip to the poor Catholics, but will be a real prejudice to your trade and commerce by driving out ſo many as will leave the country, if they cannot have the regulars with them, and that will certainly be the conſequence if the regulars be ſent away: and methinks that though in France the Huguenots are ſo ſeverely dealt with, that ſhould not make you in Holland follow ſuch an example, which muſt be really prejudicial to the true intereſt of your government, I could ſay much more on this ſubject, but have not time, and ſo muſt end with aſſuring you of my being as kind to you as you can deſire."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.—Pleaſed that the Prince has ſaved the prieſts.——The King's ſpirit of toleration.

Whitehall, January 26, 1686.

"I HAVE received yours of the 30th, in anſwer to one I had written to you concerning the regular prieſts, and am very glad to find by it that they will not be ſent away, and hope you will ſtill continue of the ſame mind, and do eaſily believe you are not for proſecuting any merely for their religion: I always was, and will be of that mind; and am of your opinion, that it was the very hard uſage the Huguenots had, and have ſtill in

France, which made that affair of the regulars be talked on where you are, and hope, as to that, you will continue of the ſame mind you are. As for news, Lord Arran, the Duke of Ormond's ſonne, died yeſterday of a fever, and Lord Digby of the ſame diſtemper a day or two before. We have had pretty hard froſts every morning, and clear weather for ſome days paſt, but the ice is not thick enough to be cut to be put into the ice-houſes; which is all I have to ſay now, but to aſſure you, that I ſhall ever be as kind to you as you can deſire.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

But men oftimes deceive themſelves. While James was boaſting of theſe ſentiments of toleration to the Prince of Orange, he was congratulating the French on the want of it, in revoking the edict of Nantes. Barillon writes thus to his court on the 4th of October, 1685. In the *Depot.* "Sa Majeſté Britannique a auſſi entendu avec joye, ce que je lui ay dit du progrez marveilleux dont Dieu benit les ſoins de votre Majeſté à l'égard des converſions de ſes ſujets; n'y ayant point d'exemple qu'il ſoit arrivé une pareille choſe en aucun tems, n'y en aucun pays, avec tant de promptitude. Sa Majeſté Britannique croit bien, qu' un ouvrage ſi important ne demeurera pas imparfait, et que Dieu fera la grace à votre Majeſté de l'achever entierement." "His Britannic Majeſty alſo heard with pleaſure, what I told him of the wonderful progreſs with which God had bleſſed your Majeſty's cares with regard to the converſion of your ſubjects; there being no example of a ſimilar thing happening at any time, or in any country, with ſo much promptitude. His Britannic Majeſty believes, that ſo important a work will not remain imperfect, and that God will grant you the favour to finiſh it entirely." And on the 18th Auguſt, 1686, Barillon writes thus, "Monſ. Adda a fait part au Roy d'Angleterre de ce que le Pape a dit dans le conſiſtoire ſur le ſujet de votre Majeſté; et de ce qu'elle a fait pour l'extirpation de l'hèrèſie en France. Sa Majeſté Britan-

nique

nique m'en a parlé comme d'une choſe qui lui fait un grand plaiſir." " Mr. Adda (that is, the Pope's Nuncio) has communicated to the King of England what the Pope ſaid in the conſiſtory upon the ſubject of your Majeſty; and what you have done to extirpate hereſy in France. His Britannic Majeſty ſpoke of it as a thing that gave him great pleaſure."

In the *Depot.*

Barillon, in his diſpatch of the 1ſt of July, 1686, repreſents thus the ſentiments of James upon the diſappointment which the oppoſition of the Scotch parliament, in matters of religion, had given. " Le Roy d'Angleterre m'a dit, que les affaires d'Ecoſſe n'avoient pas pris le chemin qu'il avoit eſperé d'abord, et que la caballe des factieux avoit empeché les gens bien intentionez de faire ce qui étoit raiſonable, et qu'ils avoient reſolus; que cependant il tireroit un grand avantage d'avoir connu les veritables deſſeins des uns et des autres; qu'il pouvoit par l'autorité que les loix lui donnent en Ecoſſe, etablir en faveur des Catholiques la liberté que le parlement n'avoit pas voulu accorder." " The King of England told me, that the affairs of Scotland had not taken the turn he at firſt expected, and that the factious cabal had hindered the well intentioned from doing what was reaſonable, and what they had reſolved upon; that nevertheleſs he ſhould draw a great advantage from knowing the true deſigns of both; and by the authority which the laws give him, he could eſtabliſh in Scotland that liberty in favour of the Catholics which the parliament refuſed to grant."

In this diſpatch Barillon relates, that the Scotch who oppoſed in parliament James's ſchemes about religion, ſaid, " That they muſt by refuſing to ſell their God, wipe off the reproach of having ſold their King."

In the year 1686, James broke the Duke of Queenſberry's proteſtant miniſtry in Scotland, and filled that of Lord

Lord Clarendon in Ireland with papiſts. In King William's box there is the following imitation of this ſtep by the King to the Prince.

King James to the Prince of Orange.——Changes made in Scotland and Ireland.

Whitehall, March 2, 1686.

"I Received yours of the 8th, by which I find you were then juſt going from the Hague, and that you are ſtill apprehenſive that there will be ſomething attempted by France to diſturb the peace of Chriſtendom, and that you may be attacked. I confeſs I cannot believe either, eſpecially the laſt, knowing upon what good terms Holland and this country are together. I had not time to tell you the laſt poſt of ſome alterations I have made in Scotland, having put the Treaſury into commiſſion, and made the Duke of Gordon maſter of the caſtle of Edinburgh, both of which I thought very neceſſary for my ſervice; and now that Lord Clarendon is ſettled in Ireland, am going to make a new Chancellor, and to change ſome of the Judges in that kingdom. All things continue, God be thanked, very quiet here, which is all I have to ſay now, but that you ſhall always find me as kind to you as you can deſire."

King James, at length, in December, 1686, avowed his intention of obſerving ceremony no longer in favour of his religion, by diſmiſſing Lord Rocheſter, who had refuſed to be converted by a conference between popiſh and proteſtant divines. Barillon, in his letter of the 12th of December, 1686, deſcribes thus the ſtate of men's minds while the iſſue of that conference was in ſuſpence. "Cette affaire eſt ſi importante, et doit avoir des ſuites ſi conſiderables, qu'elle tient toutes les autres en ſuſ-" "pence." "This affair is ſo important, and ought to have conſequences ſo conſiderable, that it keeps all others in ſuſpence."

BOOKS

BOOKS V. and VI.

THE papers to which I have had acceſs in King William's cabinet, and at Verſailles, enable me to give the public an account of the intrigues by which the Revolution was brought about in England with ſome degree of preciſion and certainty. The arranging of the papers on this head is the moſt pleaſing part of my taſk, and, I hope, will be ſo to others; becauſe there are few great families in this country, who will not find that their anceſtors (of whatever party they were) had a hand in it in one way or other.

Two months after the diſmiſſion of Lord Rocheſter, King James ſent the Marquis d'Allbeville ambaſſador to the States, under pretence of removing ſome jealouſies between him and them, but with private inſtructions to ſound if the Prince of Orange could be brought to conſent to the abolition of the teſts. The Prince took advantage of this to ſend Monſ. Dyckvelt, anceſtor to the Earl of Holderneſſe, ambaſſador into England; a man of extraordinary abilities, and who had been connected with the popular party in England ever ſince he had been ambaſſador there in the ſecond Dutch war. The pretence of this embaſſy was alſo to remove jealouſies between the nations, but his private inſtructions were to ſound the minds of the Engliſh, and to aſſure them of his protection in favour of their religion. The conſequence of theſe embaſſies was, that the Prince refuſed to conſent to the abolition of the teſts, and King James was diſpleaſed with Dyckvelt for having intrigued in his kingdom.

The

The correſpondence on this ſubject is in King William's box as follows.

King James to the Prince of Orange.——Allbeville ſent ambaſſador to Holland.

Whitehall, December 30, 1686.

"I HAVE now diſpatched this bearer, M. d'Allbeville, my envoy to the States, and would not let him go without writing by him to you, to aſſure you of the continuance of my kindneſs to you, and the deſire I have to continue in a very good correſpondence with the States, of both which I have charged him to ſpeak with you, and of ſeveral other things of concern, and deſire you will give him entire credit in what he ſhall ſay to you from me, ſo that I need not repeat any of them to you, and aſſure you I ſhall always be as kind to you as you can deſire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.——Dyckvelt comes ambaſſador to England.

Whitehall, February 18, 1687.

"LAST night late I had yours of the 21ſt, by which I find Monſ. d'Abbeville was to have his audience of the States as laſt Monday, ſo that now M. Dycvelt may have his audience when he pleaſes; which when he has, he ſhall find, notwithſtanding ſo many fooliſh and malicious reports, that I have not altered my mind, but continue my reſolution of living with a perfect good underſtanding with them. But of this more when I have ſpoken with him. It is late, and I am to riſe early to go a hunting tomorrow morning, and ſo muſt end; which I do, with aſſuring you of being as kind to you as you can deſire.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange.

King

King James to the Prince of Orange.——Has prorogued parliament, and is to give liberty of conſcience.

Whitehall, March 18, 1687.

"I HAD yours of the 21ſt from the Hague, ſo late on Tueſday laſt, that I could not then let you know I had received it. I ſee by it that you were ſatisfied that the peace of Chriſtendom would be preſerved at leaſt for this year. I am of your opinion too, and you know was all along of opinion, that France would be quiet, believing it not their intereſt to be otherwiſe. I have this day reſolved to prorogue the parliament till the 22d of November next; and that all my ſubjects may be at eaſe and quiet, and mind their trades and private concerns, have reſolved to give liberty of conſcience to all diſſenters whatſoever, having been ever againſt perſecuting any for conſcience ſake. I have not time to ſay more, but that you ſhall always find me as kind to you as you can deſire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.——The nation is pleaſed with the declaration of liberty of conſcience.

Whitehall, April 22, 1687.

"I Had yours of the 25th before the laſt poſt went away, but ſo late, that being to hunt next morning, I could not then let you know it: I find by it you was ſoon to go to the Hague. I am very glad all things continue ſo quiet, on your ſide of the water; they are ſo here, and I find my declaration contributes much to it, the generality of the nation being ſatisfied with it and at eaſe by it. As for news, the Duke of Buckingham is dead; what will become of his encumbered eſtate no body as yet can know, and beſides, there will be ſeveral pretenders to it. I have no more to ſay, but that you ſhall always find me as kind to you as you can deſire.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

King

King James to the Prince of Orange.——To the ſame purpoſe.

Windſor, May 20, 1687.

"I Came to this place laſt night, and had ſo much buſineſs on Tueſday laſt, that I could not then let you know that I had received yours of the 20th, by which I am ſorry to find you think the Chriſtian army in Hungary is not like to be ſo ſtrong as to do much this campaigne; and if the ſeaſon be as backward and the drouth as great there, as 'tis here, fourage will be very ſcarce, for here, without it rain within a week or ten days, there will be but little graſs or hay. As for news, all here is very quiet, and my declaration has put people's minds much at eaſe, and I have great reaſon to be well pleaſed with having put it out. On Wedneſday morning early there happened a fire near the Tower, which burnt near thirty houſes, and amongſt the reſt part of the victualling office, where I loſt about five thouſand pounds worth of caſk and pipe ſtaves, but by the care of thoſe that were there, and the blowing up of ſome houſes, the reſt was ſaved. I have no more to ſay, but that I ſhall be always as kind to you as you can deſire.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.——Sent by Mr. Dyckvelt.——A letter of compliments.

Windſor, May 29.

"THE ſame reaſon that kept you ſo long without writing to me has hindered me all this while from anſwering your letter; for if you believe that your letters can be troubleſome to me, I muſt needs think that you judge by yourſelf, in finding mine ſo, or elſe you could never wrong me ſo much as to have that thought of me. I have deſired Mr. Dyckvelt, who is the bearer of this, to aſſure you, that I have all the

the desire in the world to do you service, having as much esteem and friendship for you as I ought to have, and as I shall always endeavour to shew you upon all occasions, being more than I can express, what I hope you will believe me, truly yours.

M. R."

King James to the Prince of Orange.——Dyckvelt returns to Holland, and is to let the Prince know what the King expects of him.——N. B. What the King expected was his consent to the abolition of the Tests.

Windsor, May 28, 1687.

"I Would not let this bearer Mr. Dyckvelt return without writing to you by him. I have spoken to him of your private concerns, of which he will give you an account, as also of the public affairs here, and have spoken very freely to him of them, and told him (what I think I have reason to expect from you, for the good of the monarchy, as well as our family, which he has promised to tell you, so that I need not write it, but referr you to him, and though, may be, some persons, that are not well affected to me, nor the government, have misrepresented some things to him, and find fault with my proceedings in several things, yet I am satisfied I have not made one step, but what is good for the kingdom in general, as well as for the monarchy, and have more reason every day than other to be pleased with having put out my declaration for liberty of conscience; which is all I shall say now, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

The

The Prince of Orange to King James.——In answer to the foregoing letter.——Au Roy.

Juin 17, 1687.

"UN peu aprés le depart du dernier courier, Monsieur de Dycvelt eſt arrivé, qui m'a rendu la lettre que votre Mnjeſté m'a fait l'honneur de m' ecrire, et m'a informé de la bonté qu'elle avoit de vouloir prendre ſoin de mes intereſts particuliers; dont je lui rens tres humbles graces, et la ſupplie de s'en ſouvenir dans les occaſions qu' elle jugera convenable; au reſte il m'a rendu compte de ce que votre Majeſté lui avoit en chargé de me dire de ſa part, ſur quoi elle me permettra de repeter ce que cy devant j'ay eu l' honneur de lui ecrire, qu'il n'y avoit perſonne au monde qui pouvoit avoir plus d'averſion que j'avois pour toute ſorte de perſecution au fait de religion, et qu' aſſurement je ne voudrois de ma vie y donner les mains; mais auſſi je ne pourois jamais me reſoudre à faire quelque choſe contraire au bien et à l' interét de la religion que je profeſſe; et qu' ainſi je ne puis concourir en ce que votre Majeſté deſire de moy; ce que j'eſpere elle ne trouvera pas mauvais quand elle conſiderera ſur quel fondement je le fais, et qu'en tout autre choſe elle ne pourra trouver perſonne qui ſera plus attaché à ſes interéts, et qui la ſervira avec plus de fidelite, ſouhaitant paſſionement de trouver des occaſions à le temoigner à votre Majeſté par les effects, et que je ſerai toute ma vie avec un profond reſpect ce que je dois."

Tranſlation.

Tranſlation.

The Prince of Orange to King James the IId. in anſwer to the foregoing letter.——Refuſes to concur in aboliſhing the Teſts.

June 17, 1687.

"A Little after the arrival of the laſt courier, Mr. Dyckvelt came here, who gave me the letter which your Majeſty did me the honour to write to me, and informed me of your goodneſs in wiſhing to take care of my particular intereſts, for which I give you humble thanks, and entreat you to remember them upon proper occaſions. As for the reſt, he gave me an account of what your Majeſty gave him in charge to ſay to me on your part. Upon this head your Majeſty will give me leave to repeat, what I formerly had the honour to write to you, that there is no perſon in the world who has more averſion than I have for all ſort of perſecution on the ſcore of religion, and that certainly I will never in my life put my hand to it; but at the ſame time that I can never reſolve to do any thing contrary to the intereſt of the religion which I profeſs; and that therefore I cannot concur in what your Majeſty aſks of me. This I hope you will not take amiſs when you conſider upon what foundation I do it, and that in every other thing you will find no body who will be more attached to your intereſts, and who will ſerve them with more fidelity, which I wiſh paſſionately for occaſions of teſtifying to your Majeſty by effects, and that I ſhall be all my life with a profound reſpect what I ought.

King James to the Prince of Orange.——Vexed that the Prince will not conſent.——Complains of Dyckvelt.

Windſor, June 16, 1687.

"I Had yours of the 17th ſo late on Tueſday laſt, thatI coul dnot then anſwer it. Since when, I have had alſo yours of the 20th, and write now becauſe I intend to hunt to-morrow, and am ſorry to find by it, that you ſay you are againſt perſecuting any for conſcience ſake, and yet that you cannot be for taking off all thoſe laws, and the Teſts which are ſo very ſevere and hard upon all Diſſenters from the Church of England; and ſince what Mr. Dyckvelt ſaid to you from me, could not alter your mind as to that, I cannot expect that a letter ſhould prevail with you; ſo that I ſhall ſay no more on that ſubject now, and only tell you that you will find that he Mr. Dyckvelt has not taken right meaſures of affairs here, by giving ſo much credit to ſome that do not wiſh me and the monarchy well, and continue their old methods of creating fears and jealouſies. I have not time to ſay more now, and ſhall always be as kind to you as you can expect."

Before Dykvelt came to England, the Prince of Orange had privately applied to Lord Halifax to know his ſentiments upon the ſtate of things in England.

In King William's box there are the two following letters from Lord Halifax upon this occaſion.

Lord

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.——Adviſes the Prince to remain quiet; and wait for accidents.

December 7, 1689.

"AFter ſo long reſpite, your Highneſs will allow me to make uſe of the privilege of preſenting my duty to you, and to put you in mind that my conjectures concerning the parliament have proved true, and if you will give me leave to make my gueſſes of what is to come, I am of opinion that the meeting appointed in February, will not hold, there being no ſteps made to make it more adviſeable at that time than it was laſt month. Beſides, the condition the King of France is in, which is looked upon here as deſperate, is a circumſtance of that weight, that it muſt probably either produce a new ſcheme, or make very great alterations in the old one. Your Highneſs ſeeth of what uſe it is to ſtand firm and quiet, neither to yield nor to give advantage by acting unſeaſonably. Accidents come that either relieve, or at leaſt help to keep off the things we fear for a longer time; and that is no ſmall matter in the affairs of this world. I muſt give you my moſt humble thanks for your Highneſſes favours to my ſon, who is, as becometh him, extremely proud of them, and will I hope make it his ambition, as well as it is his duty, to deſerve them; if he ſhould not, he muſt renounce the reſt of his family, and particularly your Highneſs's eternally devoted ſervant."

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.——To the ſame purpoſe.

January 18, 1686-7, S. V.

"YOUR Highneſs will give me leave to acknowledge your goodneſs to my ſon, in giving him ſuch favourable admittance, which hath made him yet

more ambitious to deſerve the countenance you have been pleaſed to afford him. I hope you will put him in the liſt of thoſe who are to be diſpoſed of by you, ſince it is a tenure by which I and mine ſhall ever hold. He is ſo full of his veneration for your Highneſs, that he doth himſelf a very good office for me, by ſuch an effect of his judgment; yet I will not anſwer for it ſo far, but that he may have been guilty in the manner of paying his reſpects, in which if he hath failed, his youth and his good intentions muſt be his excuſe. He will bring your commands carefully to me, which will be ſo much the more welcome, by giving me the aſſurance that I ſtill retain the ſame place in your Highneſs's thoughts, though I have not of late had ſo frequent opportunities of recommending myſelf to them. In one thing I have had the luck to gueſs right, and not to miſlead you by a wrong conjecture; that is, about the meeting of the parliament, which you ſee is to be prorogued, notwithſtanding the poſitive diſcourſes to the contrary. The motion of public things, at preſent, hath not only variety but ſome kind of contradiction in it. It is very rapid, if looked upon on one ſide, if on the other, it is as ſlow; for though there appeareth the utmoſt vigour to purſue the deſign which hath been ſo long laid, there ſeemeth to be no leſs firmneſs in the nation, and averſion to change; ſo that converſions are ſo thin, and thoſe which are, ſo little fit to be examples, that the prevailing party is not a little diſcountenanced by making no quicker progreſs; for that reaſon it is believed they will mend their pace; and if ſo, every day will give more light to what is intended, though it is already no more a myſtery. Whatever happeneth, nothing muſt ever alter my reſolutions of being devoted to your Highneſs's ſervice."

Soon after Mr. Dyckvelt arrived in England, the Counteſs of Sunderland ſent a meſſenger to Holland with the following letter to the Prince of Orange, of the

the affectation and myſteriouſneſs of which the reader will form what judgment he thinks proper. My own ſuſpicion is, that the letter was her huſband's diction, and the poſtſcript her own. The reader will ſuſpend his judgment of Lord Sunderland till he has ſeen the ſubſequent papers relating to him in this Appendix.

Counteſs of Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—A ſingular letter.

In King William's box.

"AT the diſtance that Mr. Sidney is I am in a great ſtreight how to let your Highneſs know a matter which appears to me very neceſſary you ſhould be acquainted with; and however ſtrange it may ſeem to you my undertaking to write to you, which is what I never did before, and upon a ſubject you may think unfit for me to meddle in, had I the honour to be known to you; I think it better not to trouble you any farther with apologies, but humbly beg a ſuſpenſion of your opinion of me till you ſee Mr. Sidney, who will do me the right, I am ſure, to tell you I am not apt to meddle in theſe affairs; and as I do only truſt him, ſo I think nothing but your ſervice could tempt me to break through a difficulty of this kind that may ſeem bold to you, and if by any accident in the way ſhould be known, ruin to myſelf. But I ſhall paſs by all that to let you know the buſineſs now on foot here. Your Highneſs is not ignorant I am ſure what endeavours have been uſed here to gain votes in parliament for repealing the Teſt and penal laws, upon which, as I ſuppoſe you know, ſeveral have and do quit their places rather than ſubmit to; which makes the Roman catholics ſee they are not likely to carry it that way; which brings me to that which I think of importance you ſhould know; that the laſt eſſay they will put in practice as to the parliament, is to flatter Monſieur Dixfield with a great many fine things, that there ſhall be an entire union between England and Holland, nay farther, I am ſure they intend to

make you the fineſt offers in the world, as your having a full power in military and civil affairs by naming all officers; that Ireland ſhall be put into what hands you will; and for all this they aſk you to bid Monſieur Dixfield, and Monſieur Citers declare in your name, that you wiſh the parliament would take off theſe laws, and that you think it reaſonable they ſhould do ſo. By this means they fancy they may compaſs their point, which when done, I think 'tis plain the article on your part is upon record, theirs only verbal; your Highneſs is the beſt judge of the likelihood of its being performed. But with ſubmiſſion to your better judgment in all things, I muſt beg leave, being here, and hearing many of your faithful ſervants, that are acquainted with the temper of the nation, at preſent talk of this matter of the induſtry that is uſed to take off theſe laws, to give you both theirs and my own opinion in this matter; that if there were a poſſibility for you to be brought to do what they will aſk of you, it will only have this effect, that it will create jealouſies of your Highneſs here, which may be of very ill conſequence to you, and even your joining in it would never do their buſineſs, I mean the repealing the laws. Another point is, it is poſſible it would gain the making people jealous of you, which I believe is the ſecond point they value in this commerce. But I have not apprehenſion enough of your being caught with theſe fine offers, ſo have given you this trouble. But how far the offers may touch the ambaſſadors I did not know, for I am ſure there is no offers no nor dangers, that will not be very artificially ſhewed Monſieur Dickfield. For the laſt I am ſure there is nothing they need apprehend; and I think the offers are full as ſlight: But a negociation on any commerce of this kind cannot be to your advantage; but infinitely the contrary; which is the only inducement I have in ſending this man with this intelligence, in which I have been ſo cautious that the bearer does not know

know he comes from me, or that he has any letter of mine. I have only writ to Monſieur Bentick a letter about my garden, and incloſed one for the Princeſs, in which I have made bold to put this, for which I moſt humbly beg you will aſk her pardon, and beſtow yours upon the faithfulleſt and humbleſt of your ſervants.

A. SUNDERLAND.

I muſt beg leave of your Highneſs to incloſe a letter for Mr. Sidney, who I hope will be with you very ſoon, and till he comes I beſeech you make no anſwer to my letter, for fear of accident. For this had gone to you two poſts ago, but that an accident happened that I thought was better to let paſs over. Some Papiſts the other day that are not ſatisfied with my Lord, ſaid, that my Lord Sunderland did not dance in a nett: for they very well knew, that however he made the King believe, he thought of nothing but carrying on his buſineſs; there was diſpenſations from Holland as well as from Rome; and that they were ſure I held a correſpondence with the Princeſs of Orange. This, Sir, happened the day I firſt heard of their deſign to make theſe propoſitions which I have writ, which made me defer ſending till the King had ſpoke to me of it, which he has done; and as I could very truly, ſo I did aſſure his Majeſty, I never had the honour to have any commerce with the Princeſs, but about treakle water or work, or ſome ſuch ſlight thing; ſo I did likewiſe as truly aſſure his Majeſty, that if there had ever been any commerce, I ſhould never be aſhamed, but on the contrary proud to own it, ſeeing he muſt be ſure that the Princeſs could never be capable of any thing with any body to his diſſervice. Now how this fancy came in their heads I cannot imagine; but that they have a mind to do miſchief; for as your Highneſs knows, I never had the honnour to write to you at all till now; ſo the Princeſs knows I have been ſo unhappy to have very little acquaintance with her, till of late I have had the obli-

gation to my Lady Semple and Mr. Sidney to have had an occaſion of writing to her, which I value, and will endeavour to continue and improve by all the zeal and eſteem for her that I am capable of to my laſt breath. I have the ill luck to write a very bad hand, which if your Highneſs cannot read plain, which few can, I humbly beg you will keep it till Mr. Sidney comes, who is uſed to my hand. If at this man's return I can but hear my letter came ſafe, and that you pardon the liberty I have taken, I ſhall be very much at eaſe. If, by the bearer, your Highneſs will be pleaſed to let me know my letter came ſafe to you, I ſhall think myſelf very happy."

Monſ. Dyckvelt carried over with him among other letters the following from England to the Prince of Orange. It is ſingular that moſt of them are from men of the Tory party. The letters are intereſting to Engliſh readers, becauſe they diſplay the various characters and views of the writers. The letters are all in King William's box.

Lord Churchill to the Prince of Orange.——Aſſures him the Princeſs Anne and himſelf are to ſtand firm to their religion.

SIR,

"THE Princeſs of Denmark having ordered me to diſcourſe with Monſ. Dyckvelt, and to let him know her reſolutions, ſo that he might let your Highneſs, and the Princeſs her ſiſter, know, that ſhe was reſolved, by the aſſiſtance of God, to ſuffer all extremities, even to death itſelf, rather than be brought to change her religion. I thought it my duty to your Highneſs and the Princeſs Royal, by this opportunity of Monſ. Dyckvelt, to give you aſſurances under my own hand, that my places and the King's favour I ſet at nought, in the compariſon of the being true to my religion,

gion. In all things but this the King may command me, I call God to witneſs, that even with joy I ſhould expoſe my life for his ſervice, ſo ſenſible am I of his favours. I know the troubling you, Sir, with thus much of myſelf, I being of ſo little uſe to your Highneſs, is very impertinent, but that I think it may be a great eaſe to your Highneſs and the Princeſs to be ſatisfied that the Princeſs of Denmark is ſafe in the truſting of me; I being reſolved, although I cannot live the life of a ſaint, if there be ever occaſion for it, to ſhew the reſolution of a martyr. I am, with all reſpect, Sir,

Your Highneſs's

May 17, 1687. Moſt obedient ſervant,

CHURCHILL."

Colonel Bellaſys to the Prince of Orange.——Boaſts of his loyalty, and aſſures the prince of his ſervice.

May 27, 1687, Old Stile.

"I Have preſumed by this worthy bearer, to give your Highneſs the aſſurance of my devotion to your ſervice in particular; the teſtimony I have given to the world of my loyalty and ſufferings for the crown, obliges me in duty to pay the ſame to thoſe who are ſo nearly related to it as the Princeſs Royal and your Highneſs. Though my hand be weak to expreſs it, or enlarge myſelf upon this ſubject, my heart ſhall ſupply that defect, in the profeſſion I make, with all ſubmiſſion, of being

Your Highneſs's moſt obedient,

And moſt humbly devoted ſervant,

BELLASYS."

Lord

Lord Sunderland to the prince of Orange.——Refers to what Monſ. Dyckvelt has to ſay from him.

"I Received the honour your Highneſs was pleaſed to do me by Monſ. Dickvelt with all the reſpect I owe, and will ever pay to your commands, which I ſhall on all occaſions, exactly obey. He is too well informed of every thing here, to pretend to give you an account of what has paſſed ſince his coming; and if he does me right, as I doubt not but he will, he muſt aſſure your highneſs, that no man in the world is with more reſpect and ſubmiſſion than I am

Your Highneſs's

Windſor, May 28, 1687. Moſt faithful, moſt humble And moſt obedient ſervant.

SUNDERLAND P.

Lord Nottingham to the prince of Orange.—Refers to what Dyckvelt has to ſay.—The prince has the univerſal attachment of the proteſtant intereſt to him.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

"THE great ambition I ever had of ſerving your Highneſs, made me moſt readily obey the commands I received from you by the Heer Van Dychvelt, who has encouraged me to the preſumption of this humble addreſs to your Highneſs.

I have taken ſeveral opportunities of diſcourſing with him about thoſe things, which I thought might be of uſe or ſatisfaction to you; I ſhall not trouble your Highneſs with any account of affairs here at this time, for he has ſo fully informed himſelf of them, that he can give you a very exact account of them: and of one thing eſpecially he may aſſure you, and that is, the univerſal concurrence of all Proteſtants in paying the utmoſt reſpect and duty to your Highneſs, for you are the perſon on whom they found their hopes, as having already

already seen you a refuge to the miserable, and a most eminent defender of their religion.

And among the many votaries your Highness has here for your long life and increase of honour, none can be more zealously so than myself, who am resolved, with the greatest fidelity, to endeavour, by all the actions of my life, to obtain the title of

London, Your Highness's
May 18, 1687. Most obedient and most humble servant,
NOTTINGHAM."

Lord Clarendon to the prince of Orange.——A letter of compliment.

SIR,

"THOUGH I have nothing worth giving your Highness the trouble of a letter, yet I must not omit the opportunity of laying myself at your Highness's feet by Monsr. Dyckvelt, who, I doubt not, will do me the justice to assure you of my most obedient duty. I should take it for a great honour to have any commands from your Highness, and ambitious of nothing more than a share of your good opinion, as a person perfectly devoted to your service. Monsr. Dyckvelt will give your Highness so full an account of all affairs here, that I need add nothing to what he is so well informed of; I shall only take the liberty to say, that as his conduct here has been very grateful, so all good men are troubled he stays no longer with us. That God would prosper your Highness in all your undertakings, and give you all the comforts in this world, suitable to your merits, is the constant prayer of, Sir,

London, Your Highness's most faithful
May 28, 1687. And most obedient, humble servant,
CLARENDON."

Lord

Lord Rocheſter to the prince of Orange.——General aſſurances of good will, but avoids entering into particulars.

"NOW that Monſieur de Dycvelt is returning to your Highneſs, I preſume to preſent my humble thanks to you for the very gracious and kind letter your Highneſs was pleaſed to write to me by him, upon a ſubject, that unleſs it had been by a ſure hand, it was not ſafe to ſay any thing; and by what hand ſoever, was much beyond what I could expect; but what good opinion I have gained on that occaſion, I ſhall endeavour not to loſe upon any other. In the circumſtances I am, as to my retirement, both on the public and my particular account, your Highneſs cannot expect that I ſhould ſay much to you; and if it were otherwiſe, Monſieur de Dycvelt hath had ſo good means of knowing every thing, and hath ſo very good qualities, that it were very unneceſſary to write, where he is going: I am confident that he will do me right, that I have not been reſerved towards him, when he hath done me the honour to communicate any thing to me. All that I can ſay more, is that my wiſhes are very good, but neither now, nor for ſome time, before every body elſe ſaw it, could they ſignify much. In what condition ſoever I am, I beg your Highneſs to believe, that I ſhall always continue, with all my duty and ſubmiſſion, to be as I ought to your Highneſs."

New Park, May 29, 1687.

Mr.

Mr. Fitzpatrick to the prince of Orange.——Proteſtants of all parties have opened themſelves to Dyckvelt.

SIR, May 30, 1687.

"THE many obligations I have to your Highneſs, and the ſincere paſſion I have for your ſervice, emboldens me to acquaint your Highneſs with the great importance that I think it would be not only to your Highneſs, but the States, if Monſ. Dickvelt might be ſent ambaſſador here in the room of Monſ. Van Citers; his great prudence, and the zeal that he is believed to have for your Highneſs and the Princeſs, has got him the univerſal good opinion of all parties here, tho' differing never ſo much in their religions, which your Highneſs will eaſily find by the freedom with which they have communicated their innermoſt thoughts, hopes and fears to him, and I am ſure will do ſtill, when there is any occaſion for it. The thoughts of which I ſubmit to your Highneſs's great wiſdom, begging pardon for this liberty, and the continuance of your favour to the perſon in the world that is moſt ambitious of an opportunity to expreſs his gratitude, and manifeſt how much he is, Sir,

Your Highneſs's moſt obliged,
And moſt faithful ſervant,
J. FITZPATRICKE."

Lord Danby to the prince of Orange.——Recounts Dyckvelt's ſervices to the prince in England.——Propoſes a perſonal interview of ſome of the Engliſh with the prince, that overtures might be made.

London, May 30, 1687.

"AT the arrival of Monſ. Dyckvelt in this place, I did by him receive the honour of being remembered by your Highneſs. He alſo then told me, that

that your Highneſs had been pleaſed to name me, amongſt ſome others, with whom it was your pleaſure he ſhould confer on ſuch occaſions as he ſhould think were for the ſervice of your Highneſs. I am, therefore, in the firſt place, obliged to return your Highneſs my humble thanks for ſo great an honour, and next to do that juſtice to Monſ. Dyckvelt to aſſure your Highneſs, that as you could have employed nobody here who would have been more agreeable to your well-wiſhers in this country, ſo I am confident that nobody could have diſcharged themſelves better than he hath done, both in his deportments to the King, and with all the ſatisfaction that could have been wiſhed to thoſe with whom he has converſed concerning your Highneſs (of which both the numbers and quality have been very conſiderable;) his chief buſineſs having been to give aſſurances to your Highneſs's great firmneſs in the proteſtant religion, and to make known not only your wiſhes, but endeavours, that no alteration may be made amongſt us, otherwiſe than by parliament, and as our law directs. By his prudent management of theſe diſcourſes, he has done your Highneſs great ſervice, and in all other things your Highneſs's worth and merit were ſo well known before, that there needed nothing to ſet them forth more than your own actions have already declared them to the world.

I am ſorry he is able to bring your Highneſs no better an account of our ſervices during his ſtay here, but you know that our preſent ſtations do render moſt of us but little capable of doing any thing which can deſerve to be thought conſiderable. I confeſs, that could there be a convenient opportunity for ſome of us to have a perſonal conference with your Highneſs, it is not only my opinion, but the opinion of others, who have the honour of correſponding with your Highneſs, that ſome overtures might be made which would be of uſe to your ſervice, and I hope from theſe hands your Highneſs is well informed of their thoughts who are devoted to your ſervice. For my own part, I am ſo tied to be

be of that number by what I have done already (beſides my continued inclinations to be ſo) that if I were diſpoſed to alter that character, I ſhould not be able to make myſelf believed, unleſs your Highneſs would contribute to it by ſome proof of your diſpleaſure towards me, which I can never fear, becauſe I am equally aſſured of your juſtice, as I am of my own integrity to your ſervice, and of the ſatisfaction I have received by thoſe happy ſucceſſes I have had in it, to which I am ſure no competitor can pretend an equal ſhare; and therefore, if in this, I preſume to ſay more than I ought, I hope I may be pardoned a little vanity, having been the happy inſtrument of ſo great a public good, as, I doubt not, it will at laſt prove, as well as a particular one to your Highneſs. I am glad to find that Monſ. Dyckvelt, who is ſo able to ſerve your Highneſs, is ſo well eſtabliſhed in your confidence, as I underſtand by Lord Hallifax, to whom you gave him ſuch credentials as made me willing to ſpeak much more freely to him than otherwiſe I ſhould have done; but yet I muſt confeſs to your Highneſs (which I rely upon your juſtice to keep to yourſelf), that finding his Lordſhip, who received thoſe credentials, not willing to impart ſome things to him which are not very proper to be written, I thought it leſs prudent for me to ſay to him all that I could wiſh your Highneſs were truly informed of. I ſay not this with the leaſt reflection upon my Lord Halifax (who, I am confident, is truly zealous in your ſervice) but to ſhew our unhappineſs, who dare not, by ſecond hands, ſpeak what was neceſſary for your knowledge. I have only to add, that if I can, in any kind, be ſerviceable to your Highneſs, your commands will meet with ſo great obedience and faithfulneſs, that I ſhall not conſider myſelf, if your Highneſs ſhall think me worthy of the continuance of that favour I have formerly received, and which, I am ſure, I have not juſtly forfeited. In the mean time, I beg the honour of being preſented by your Highneſs, with all duty, to the Princeſs's memory, and that I

may

may imagine 'tis your Highneſs's opinion, as I truly am

Your Highneſs's moſt obedient,
And devoted ſervant,
DANBY."

Lord Halifax to the prince of Orange.——There is little fear that popery will prevail.

May 31, 1687.

"I Deferred my thanks for the honour of your Highneſs's letter, till I could pay them by the ſame hand that brought it. Having had the opportunity of diſcourſing frequently, and at large, with Monſ. Dickvelt, it would be leſs proper now to enter into particulars, or to make repetitions of that, which he will be ſo much better able to explain. I ſhall, therefore, only put your Highneſs in mind, that my conjectures about the meeting of the parliament have not hitherto been diſappointed; and if I may be allowed to continue them, I am of opinion there will be none in November, neither this, nor a new one, though that is threatened upon a ſuppoſition, that it ſhall be made up of Diſſenters, and that they will comply with whatever ſhall be expected from them. Neither of theſe will be found true, in my opinion, if the trial ſhould be made: there are a great many circumſtances which make ſuch a ſcheme impracticable, and the more they conſider it, the more they will be diſcouraged from attempting it; beſides, the caſe, in ſhort, is this; the great deſign cannot be carried on without numbers; numbers cannot be had without converts, the old ſtock not being ſufficient; converts will not venture till they have ſuch a law to ſecure them as hath no exception to it; ſo that the irregularity, or any other violence of the law, would ſo entirely take away the effect of it, that men would as little run the hazard of changing their religion after the making it, as before; this reaſon

ſon alſo fixeth my opinion; though other arguments are not wanting; and upon this foundation I have no kind of apprehenſion, that the legiſlative power can ever be brought to purſue the preſent deſigns. But our affairs here depend ſo much upon what may be done abroad, that our thoughts, though never ſo reaſonable, may be changed by what we may hear by the next poſt. A war in Germany, and much more if one nearer to us, will have ſuch influence here, that our councils muſt be fitted to it; and whether or no we ſhall have an avowed part in it, it is pretty ſure we ſhall have a leaning to one of the parties; and our reſolutions at home are to be ſuited to the intereſts abroad, which we ſhall happen to eſpouſe. Mens jealouſies here are ſo raiſed, that they can hardly believe the King of France's journey to Luxembourg to have no more in it than bare curioſity to ſee it; but your Highneſs hath your eyes ſo open, and your thoughts ſo intent upon every thing that moveth, that, no doubt, you either ſee there is no myſtery, or, if there is, you have ſearched to the bottom of it. Monſ. Dickvelt will entertain your Highneſs with all his obſervations, which he hath made with great diligence, having converſed with men of all complexions, and by that means he knoweth a great deal of the preſent ſtate of our affairs. The opportunities he hath had, will make him the more welcome here again, whenever there ſhall be a fair occaſion of bringing him. His free way of converſing giveth him an eaſier admittance than he would have, if he was too reſerved; and his being known to be a creature of your Highneſs, encourageth men to talk with him with leſs reſtraint. May your Highneſs continue well and ſafe, and may no ill happen to you, till I ceaſe to be the moſt devoted of your ſervants."

Earl of Devonſhire to the Prince of Orange.—Refers to what Monſ. Dyckvelt has to ſay.

SIR,

"PRESUMING that your Highneſs has heard of an unlucky accident that has happened to me lately, I think myſelf obliged humbly to beſeech your Highneſs not to believe me capable of intending any rudeneſs to the King's palace, having, on the contrary, endeavoured all I could to avoid it, and hope no action of my life can render me ſuſpected of want of reſpect to his Majeſty, or the Royal Family. I could heartily wiſh, Sir, that affairs in England were according to your Highneſs's ſatisfaction. Monſ. Dyckvelt has been pleaſed to acquaint me with your Highneſs's intentions as to many things, and among thouſands here that would be glad to receive your orders on any occaſion, none can be more cordially, nor with greater reſpect, Sir,

Your Highneſs's moſt faithful,

May the 31ſt. And moſt humble ſervant,

DEVONSHIRE."

Earl of Shrewſbury to the Prince of Orange.——Strong aſſurances of his ſervices.

SIR, London, May 30, 1687.

"I Fear you will think this an unpardonable preſumption in one that is ſo inconſiderable, and ſo much a ſtranger to your Highneſs; but I was unwilling to let paſs the occaſion, without aſſuring you, that tho' I hope you have a great many ſervants and friends in this place, yet there is not one more entirely and faithfully ſo than myſelf. It is ſo much every honeſt man's intereſt, not only to ſay, but be ſo, that I hope you will the eaſier believe what I ſpeak is not a compliment,

ment, but the truth of my heart. The great, and only consolation that we have left is, that you are so generous to countenance us in our misfortunes, Sir, at the same time we here know you approve we are in the right. Your commands is the rule I have set myself to conduct the rest of my life; and whenever I shall be so happy as to receive them, they shall be obeyed with that duty that becomes, Sir,

Your Highness's most humble,
And most obedient servant,
SHREWSBURY."

Sir George Mackenzie to the prince of Orange.——A spirited letter.

May it please your Highness,

"I Have adhered to the principles of the Protestant religion, and the interest of the royal family from a due sense of duty and honour, and therefore I neither value popularity nor expect rewards. But, Sir, your great virtue and exemplary firmness obliges me to assure your Highness, that there is none in this Isle of Britain more devoted to your service than,

May it please your Highness,
Your Highness's most humble servant,
And most sincere well-wisher,
Edin. June 9, 1687. GEO. MACKENZIE.

The bishop of London to the prince of Orange.——The king may come to trouble, and the prince will be his only support.

SIR, June 16.

"I Have presumed to recommend a young French gentleman to you by the hands of Monsieur Bentingk, and beg your pardon for it. I was very glad to receive so good assurance of your welfare as Monsieur

Dickvelt brought over. It is not only for your near relation to the crown, that you are so much prayed for here; but for your usefulness to it. For if the King should have any trouble come upon him, which God forbid, we do not know any sure friend he has to rely upon abroad, besides yourself, whom therefore God long preserve a blessing to the King and kingdom, which shall ever be the prayer of,

Sir,

Your Highness's

Most obliged humble servant,

H. LONDON.

The old Earl of Bedford to the Prince of Orange.—Laments his own misfortunes.—Attached with his family to the prince.—Prays for him.

May it please your Highness,

"GREAT and surprising honours the more joy they give, the more they disable us to express it, and I am not ashamed to own I cannot find words to represent the deep sense and just gratitude with which my heart abounds, for those assurances Monsieur Dyckvelt has given me of your Highness's compassion for my late calamity, and gracious dispositon to comfort an unfortunate family, which I should be less concerned for than I am, if I could doubt any branch of it would ever fail in any point of duty to your Highness's person, which is here universally held in the highest veneration for those Christian and princely virtues that make you worthy of whatever your high birth has given you, or may entitle you to. That it would please God to give you long life, and to continue all his blessings to you, is the hearty prayer of him that has the utmost devotion to your service, and is, with all humility,

May it please your Highness,

Your Highness's most faithful, most obedient,

And most humble servant,

BEDFORD.

Upon

Upon Monſieur Dyckvelt's departure, the Prince of Orange took advantage of the Queen's having notified to him her mother the Dutcheſs of Modena's death, to ſend over Count Zuliſten (anceſtor to the Earl of Rochford) with compliments of condolence; a perſon the more dangerous, becauſe, under the appearance of a man of pleaſure and a ſoldier, he had great talents for buſineſs, and becauſe he was entitled to a degree of confidence from the Engliſh malecontents proportioned to his near relation to the Prince. He ſtayed three weeks in England.

Lord Mordaunt, with the impetuoſity which was natural to him, had adviſed the Prince to an attempt upon England, though with the inconſtancy which was alſo natural to him, he afterwards changed his mind, both of which will appear from his letter below. But the Prince, who was ſubject to neither weakneſs, gave it in charge to Zuliſten to find out from thoſe whom he conſulted, whether there was any probability that the King, who had juſt diſſolved the parliament, would call a new one; knowing well that the legal and conſtitutional mode of redreſs was by parliament, and that whilſt there were hopes of it, all others were improper.

The letters about Zuliſten's coming over from Holland, or which were written in anſwer to letters or meſſages which he brought from the Prince, are as follow, in King William's box.

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Notifies the Dutcheſs of Modena's death.

Windſor, Auguſt 2, 1687.

"THE friendſhip you have ſhewed me on all occaſions, and the part that I have always flattered myſelf, you took in my concerns, makes me hope I may have a great ſhare of your compaſſion in the great grief I now lie under, for the death of the Dutcheſs of

Modena my mother; in which nothing can comfort me, but the hopes I have of her happineſs in the other world. Next to this I think it ſome eaſe in one's afflictions to have the pity of one's friends, which makes me hope for yours at this time, aſſuring you that in what condition ſoever I am, I ſhall always be with all ſincerity truly yours."

M. R.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Count Zuliſten is come over with compliments of condolence.

Windſor, Aug. 15, 1687.

"I Have received yours by this bearer M. Zuliſten, in which you let me know the part you take in the death of the late Dutcheſs of Modena; I would not let him return without a letter, and have only time to tell you now, being to ſet out early to-morrow for Portſmouth and ſo forward on my journey, and it being late, that you ſhall always find me as kind to you as you can deſire."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Thanks for his condolence by Zuliſten who returns.

Bath, Auguſt 21, 1687.

"I Have ſo many thanks to return to you for the part which M. Zuliſten has aſſured me you take in my juſt grief for the loſs of my mother, and for ſending him to aſſure me of it, that I know not where to begin, nor how to expreſs to you the ſenſe I have of it: I hope you are ſo juſt to me as to believe it much greater then I can make it appear in this paper. I have deſired this bearer to help me to perſuade you of this, and to aſſure you, that I do deſire above all things the continuance of your friendſhip, which I cannot but think I do a little deſerve by being with all the ſincerity and affection imaginable, truly yours, M. R.

Lord

Lord Mordaunt to the Prince of Orange.——In deſpondence.——Diſſuades him from taking the bold courſes he had formerly adviſed him to.

SIR,

"IF as to that particular affair I had the honour to give your Highneſs an account of, (and that you were pleaſed frankly to ingage in, my expectations are ſo far diminiſhed, that I find myſelf obliged to own I am become very doubtful of the ſucceſs of it, and for that reaſon muſt rather diſuade from, than perſuade to the expence thoſe for whom I have, and ought to have the laſt reſpect, and whoſe intereſt I would manage with a tenderneſs, equal to my deſire of ſerving them, yet I think myſelf ſufficiently recompenſed for any private diſappointment by the proſpect of public affairs, and the hopes I have your Highneſs's intereſt increaſes every day more and more in ſtrength, and do not doubt will grow ſtronger even by the endeavours of the court to weaken it, and be paſt being ſhaken by their tricks, or by their power. Monſieur Zuliſten (perhaps more proper, as not taken for a man of buſineſs, but a particular ſervant of your Highneſs's for what he was ſent about) came in a very lucky time, and it was no little ſatisfaction to me to find upon the whole, he will very near give your Highneſs an account of affairs, as I had the honour to repreſent them to you. Sir, I may eaſily fall into miſtakes, but my unfeigned wiſhes for your proſperity, and being entirely convinced we ought to ſerve your Highneſs to the utmoſt of our power, if only on the principles of ſelf love, and preſervation, but theſe opinions too agreeing with my inclinations, will make me I am ſure never offer to your Highneſs but the true and ſincere thoughts of a heart, that I proteſt, Sir, is entirely yours. I take the liberty to ſend a little pamphlet as it came to my hands, though Monſieur Zuliſten not going to day as he intended, I believe he will carry ſome of

them over in print, which may be eaſier read. Thoſe who ſent it me concluded I believe the deſign would pleaſe me, and as I was intimating to your Highneſs that I thought ſome of our church would do well to take this ſubject in hand, I was glad to ſee it not ill executed. I hope it will both pleaſe and ſatisfy your Highneſs when you read it. I flatter myſelf I ſhall not be long abſent from Loo, my old paſports ſtands good ſtill, (my dear Roman catholic friends not being able to quit their greedy hopes, but perſiſting in their deſires to me, and entreating me every hour to proceed in this affair, though I fear, not with good reaſons of their ſide, of which I ſent Mr. Sidney at large my thoughts, not changed ſince, no more than my reſolutions of following your Highneſs's directions in it, which way ſoever they incline, with all pleaſure and readineſs.) So, Sir, I do not trouble you with any more of public affairs, but that I find lord Halifax poſitive in his opinion of no parliament: I preſume daily care will be taken, that they may have leſs reaſon every moment to hope to ſucceed in what alone they would have it met for, and ſo it may become probable that the ſeſſion may not be long, but it is beſt erring of the ſurer ſide, and conclude that a parliament may ſit, that the beſt means may be taken to prevent its being fatal to us, for blows given by parliament are deadly ones. Your Highneſs I fear will think you have reaſon to judge quite differently of me from what other people do, appearing to you thus upon all occaſions timorous, and deſponding. I own, Sir, where your intereſt, or the public is concerned, I may be liable to needleſs fears, out of diffidence that naturally follows a ſincere, and real concern; but in the executing part of any commands I ſhall ever receive from your Highneſs, you will give me leave to anſwer for myſelf, and aſſure you, your Highneſs ſhall never find a fault or heſitation in, Sir, your Highneſs's moſt obedient, humble and reſpectful ſervant,

MORDAUNT."

September the 4th, our ſtyle.

Sir

Sir, you will excuſe this poſtſcript; of great conſequence I think it is not, but ſince I writ my letter, I am informed they are ſending a privy ſeal for Sir Rowl. Gwinn. As he loves talking of buſineſs I fear he may have been indiſcreet, or elſe it is to endeavour to fright him from coming into England, to ſtand for parliament man."

Lord Nottingham to the Prince of Orange.—In anſwer to the Prince's letter.—The Prince has put queries by Count Zuleſteyn whether there was a probability of a parliament, and what would be the ſucceſs of one.—Thinks there is an intention to call a parliament, but that it will not be ventured.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

"I WAS much ſurpriſed to receive the honour of a letter from your Highneſs by Mr. Zuyleſteyn; your acceptance of my ſervice obliges me to the utmoſt fidelity, and is an ample reward of it too.

I underſtand by Mr. Zuyleſteyn that your Highneſs would know what likelihood there is of the calling and meeting of a parliament; and, if there ſhould be one, what probably may be the ſucceſs of ſuch a meeting.

'Tis very hard to foretell what will be the iſſue of the preſent councils; for though the end at which they aim is very plain and viſible, yet the methods of arriving at that end have been very variable and uncertain; ſo that although in other times the beſt prophecies are the conjectures of wiſe men, yet now perhaps they are the worſt, and to gueſs right is rather luck than wiſdom, which makes me preſume to lay before your Highneſs my apprehenſions, and to hope for your pardon if I ſhould be miſtaken, ſince wiſer men may be ſo too.

I think it is very probable that the preſent reſolution is to have a parliament; the ſudden and ſurpriſing declaration of indulgence to men, who a little before were

hated,

hated, and laboured under great severities; the placing them in offices of trust in corporation towns; the encouragement of them to stand for members of the next parliament, and the particular reason that is given them for it, which is to repeal the penal laws, in which the Protestants and Papists seem to have a joint interest; and this, that it may appear the more specious without abrogating the test: all these are evidences of their intention to advise the calling of a parliament, and together with the King's progress into the country, look preparatory to it.

Nevertheless, when I consider what little hopes they can justly have of any fruits of those endeavours when a parliament shall meet, I do conclude that they will change their councils, and that there will be no parliament this winter.

For it is very likely, that if a parliament should be summoned, the members of the church of England, having already given sufficient evidence of their zeal for their religion and laws, will, upon that account, as well as being the major part of the nation, prevail in most elections; so that few Dissenters, upon whom the Papists do now depend, will be chosen; and further, I am apt to think, that few Dissenters will attempt it, as easily foreseeing, that if they do not comply in all things that are expected, or shall be asked of them, they will expose themselves to great displeasure, and so run the hazard of forfeiting that toleration which they are well pleased to enjoy, though they like not the method by which it is given them.

And it may reasonably be expected, that such Dissenters as shall be chosen, will not, in their present circumstances, concur to the repeal of so much as the penal laws: for this has been their opinion in former parliaments, in which they never would give that ease to the Papists, which they desired for themselves, and to do it now, might encourage the Papists to greater attempts; and the Dissenters would never recover the reproach of having been factors for popery, and the unhappy instru-

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ment of prejudicing the proteſtant religion; and conſequently will not have ſuch reaſon to expect a like indulgence in other times, as their prudent behaviour in this conjuncture will juſtly intitle them to; and which, they hope, will then be eſtabliſhed to them by a more firm and laſting ſecurity.

But after all, notwithſtanding the pretences of ſome Papiſts and their agents, yet if the Non-conformiſts would repeal the penal laws, it is very probable it would not be granted, unleſs the teſt were taken away too, which is the great obſtruction to the Papiſts deſigns; for though many of the nobility and gentry of that party would acquieſce in the enjoyment of their religion and eſtates; yet if there be reaſon to think, that the zeal of ſome men would go much further, eſpecially of the prieſts, who can have no intereſt in ſtopping here, ſurely they will never contradict their former artifices, and ſuffer the Diſſenters to be freed from the terror of the laws, which is the moſt probable inducement to them to join with the Papiſts, and without ſuch an union, the Papiſts cannot expect to abrogate the teſt, and complete their deſigns.

And yet if this repeal of the penal laws would be granted, there are ſo many other things that will be taken into conſideration by a parliament, and of a nature ſo contrary to the preſent intereſt and humour of the Papiſts, that it will be next to impoſſible that there ſhould be time to bring ſuch a bill to perfection, how zealouſly ſoever it may be proſecuted in the Houſe of Commons, or otherwiſe encouraged.

All which difficulties the Papiſts cannot be ſo blind as not to foreſee, or ſo vain as to contend againſt them, as yet, in a parliament.

All which I moſt humbly ſubmit to your Highneſs, and muſt intreat your pardon for the trouble, and the many other faults of ſo long a letter, of which nothing

could

could have made me guilty, but my great zeal, upon all occaſions, to ſhew myſelf

London, Sept. 2, 1687. Your Highneſs's moſt obedient, And moſt humble ſervant, NOTTINGHAM."

Earl of Danby to the Prince of Orange, in anſwer to one from the Prince.—Zuyleſteyn's ſervices.—Repeats his deſire for a perſonal interview with the Prince.—Refers to Zuyleſteyn.

Wimbledon, Sept. 4, 1687.

"I WAS very proud to receive by Monſieur Zuyleſteyn the honour of a letter from your Highneſs, and to find in it ſo great a condeſcenſion as to remember the ſervices of one, who is now ſo little able to pay any. The character your Highneſs gives of Monſ. Zuyleſteyn would give me the confidence to ſay any thing to him, which I would not venture to ſay to any body but yourſelf; nor would I forbear, upon that recommendation, to ſay to him any thing which were ſo material to your Highneſs's ſervice, as might receive any prejudice by the delay; but I can ſay nothing which is ſo preſſing in point of time, nor would I commit to writing what the thoughts of others are beſides my own, without their conſent, for which I have had no opportunity ſince I received your letter, which was but on the 2d inſtant. I am ſure your Highneſs will receive all neceſſary accounts of things from hence as the occaſions require, and Monſ. Zuyleſteyn will inform you of the preſent poſture of all things amongſt us. I confeſs I could wiſh that the underſtanding, both on your Highneſs's part and ours, were more perfect, in relation to ſuch future events as may probably happen (and which are too long to be expreſſed by letters); but I have touched upon ſome things of that kind to Monſ. Zuyleſteyn, as queſtions which I have been aſked by others, and he made me ſuch anſwers as I was glad to hear, and which he ſaid he was inſtructed to give, in caſe any ſuch enquiries were made,

made, of which he will give your Highneſs an account. I made ſome open attempts the laſt ſummer, and ſome private ones in this, to have ſeen if I could have gained leave to go into Holland with the ſame indifferency that it is permitted to many others; but I ſtill found deſigns were laid to do me more prejudice by that journey, than I could have done ſervice to your Highneſs. I muſt, therefore, deny myſelf the honour of waiting upon your Highneſs, till my attendance may be as uſeful, as ſuch an occaſion would be agreeable to me; and then nothing ſhall be an hindrance to

Your Highneſs's moſt obedient,
And faithful ſervant,
DANBY."

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—Thinks no parliament will be called, and that the nation will not receive popery.—Adviſes caution.

Auguſt 25, 1687.

"IT would be unneceſſary to give your Highneſs a recommending character of my Lord of Shrewſbury, who hath already ſo good a one eſtabliſhed and allowed in the world; I ſhall only ſay, in ſhort, that he is, without any competition, the moſt conſiderable man of quality that is growing up amongſt us; that he hath right thoughts for the public, and a moſt particular veneration for your Highneſs; he is looſe and untyed from any faction that might render him partial, or give a wrong bias to his opinion; and I do not doubt, but upon the firſt diſcourſe you ſhall have with him, you will be encouraged to treat him without any manner of reſerve. There is ſo little alteration here ſince Monſ. Dickvelt left us, that I can hardly acquaint you of any thing of moment which would be new to you. I have told my Lord Shrewſbury my thoughts, who is very well able to improve and explain them to your Highneſs. It is not to be imagined but that a certain deſign will ſtill go on; all that is to be hoped is, that it will be

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ſo crippled with the difficulties it every day meeteth with, that it will be diſabled from making ſo ſwift a progreſs as is neceſſary for the end it aimeth at. There are ſome things that can never prevail upon men's minds, if they have time allowed to conſider them; this may be the preſent caſe, the whole kingdom being now ſo well informed, that all men are ſettled in their diſlike of the unwelcome thing that is endeavoured to be impoſed on them: this conſideration alone freeth me, in a great meaſure, from the fears I might otherwiſe have; not that it throweth me into ſuch a ſecurity as to make me neglect the means that ſhall, from time to time, be thought moſt reaſonable for our preſervation, towards which your Highneſs ſeemeth to us to be in the beſt method that can be imagined, in being firm to your true intereſt, immoveable in every thing that is eſſential, and cautious to give no advantage which might, with any colour of reaſon, be made uſe of againſt you. This conduct being continued, can hardly fail, there being ſo many things that concur to make it ſucceed. I find by Monſ. Zuleyſtein, that your Highneſs is inclined to believe there will be a parliament; upon which, being encouraged in my good luck in gueſſing right hitherto upon the ſame ſubject, I take the liberty to tell you that I do not think any will be called, till, by ſome accident, it ſhall become neceſſary and unavoidable: my reaſons for it will be better repeated by my Lord of Shrewſbury, ſo that I ſhall not now give your Highneſs the trouble of them. We are full of the news from Hungary, which is not equally welcome to the ſeveral Princes in Chriſtendom. We think it may have a conſiderable influence upon this part of the world, and if the ſeaſon was not too far advanced, we are apt to believe France might this very year give ſome trouble to its neighbours. What part we here might have in it, I cannot tell, but ſuppoſe we ſhall be ſlow to engage in a war, which, beſides the expence, to which we cannot furniſh, is liable to ſo many accidents, that we ſhall not be eaſily perſuaded to run the

hazard

hazard of it. Your Highneſs hath your thoughts intent upon every new thing that ariſeth in the world, and knoweth better than any body how to improve every conjuncture, and turn it to the advantage of that intereſt of which you are the chief ſupport; and as your care and ſkill will never be wanting, ſo, I hope, they will meet with their juſt reward of good ſucceſs, which is the top of my wiſhes, as it is the utmoſt of my ambition to be ſerviceable to a Prince to whom I am eternally devoted.

London, Auguſt 25, 1687.

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.—Zuleyſtin's ſervices.

September 1, 1687.

"HAVING ſo lately written to your Highneſs by my Lord of Shrewſbury, who is able to give you a particular account of things here, I have nothing to acquaint you with by Monſ. Zuleyſtein, who ſeemeth to deſerve the good opinion you have of him, his character agreeing ſo well with his recommendation, that his he is extremely welcome to all thoſe he converſeth with; neither is he wanting to make ſuch obſervations as may be uſeful for your ſervice, by which he layeth a foundation of being ſo well informed of our matters here, that he may prove to be a very good inſtrument to be further employed when the occaſion ſhall require it. The King has returned from his progreſs as far as Oxford, in his way to the Bath; and we do not hear that his obſervations, or his journey, can give him any great encouragement to build any hopes upon, as to the carrying on ſome things, which appear every day to be more againſt the grain. Beſides the conſiderations of conſcience and the public intereſt, it is grown into a point of honour, univerſally received by the nation, not to change their opinion, which will make all attempts to the contrary very ineffectual. A parliament is ſtill talked of, but I find no cauſe to alter my judgment in that matter,

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it being ſtill the ſame I have already told your Highneſs, and of which I have deſired my Lord of Shrewſbury to give you ſome of the reaſons that induce me to it. I have no more to add, but that I am, and ever will be, unalterably devoted to you."

Biſhop of London to the Prince of Orange.—In anſwer to a letter from the Prince.—The church of England ſteady.—The Diſſenters, he hopes, will open their eyes.

SIR, September 5.

"YOUR remembrance of me by Monſ. Zuiliſtin, has obliged me to acknowledge that great honour by this means; and though I have nothing of moment proper to communicate by writing, nevertheleſs it is of moment to me, not to lye under the imputation of ingratitude, leſt I ſhould juſtly loſe ſo great a ſatisfaction, as ſometimes to be owned amongſt your moſt humble ſervants. If you ſhall find by the account Monſ. Zuiliſten gives you, that I have communicated nothing to him worthy that confidence you were pleaſed to recommend, I beſeech you not to believe that it has proceeded from any reſervedneſs, where I had ſo ſtrong an aſſurance from yourſelf, but that I had no more to ſay; for ſince my misfortune of lying under his Majeſty's diſpleaſure, I frequently retire into the country out of reach of the great news, and when I am in town I meet with little but what is ſo public, that it would be impertinent for me to repeat it. We have daily complaints how buſy the prieſts are amongſt the conventicles, but we hope a few diſcoveries will make that party wiſer. The clergy continue very firm to their principles, very watchful over their flocks, and very dutiful to the King; and, next to my allegiance, I can confidently aver, that there is no duty which I

ſhall

ſhall not moſt chearfully pay to your ſervice, and pray God for your proſperity all the days of my life,

Sir,

Your highneſs's moſt faithful,
And obedient ſervant,
H. LONDON."

There is no doubt that the petition and impriſonment of the Biſhops were the immediate cauſes of the dethronement of King James, becauſe they ſet the ſpirits of men, which were moving only ſlowly before, in an inſtant in a ferment. Between the time of Dyckvelt's return to Holland, and the petition of the Biſhops, the Prince received, among other letters, the following from England. They are all in the box.

The Earl of Devonſhire to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of his own injuries, the nation's and the Prince's.

SIR,

"I Wiſh my preſent circumſtances would allow me to be any ways ſerviceable to your Highneſs; but as they are, if I did not believe you had much better intelligence from other hands than I am able to give, I ſhould preſume now and then to ſend your Highneſs an account of affairs according to my weak apprehenſion of them. And to that end (if your Highneſs permit) I have thought of a private way of writing, which Mr. Forreſter will acquaint you with. I have been hardly enough uſed in my own particular, but I conceive the whole nation is not much better; and for any thing appears to me, I cannot but think, as things are like to be carried, both here and in Ireland, your Highneſs's intereſt is like to ſuffer. I dare not enlarge upon particulars, but beg of your Highneſs to believe,

that I wiſh my liberty for nothing more, than to have ſome occaſion to ſhew myſelf, Sir,

Your Highneſs's moſt devoted,

July 10, Old Stile. And moſt humble Servant,

DEVONSHIRE."

The Biſhop of London to the Prince of Orange, in anſwer to the Prince's letter.—Thanks for his aſſurances to the church of England.

SIR, October 27, 1687.

"THE terms by which you were pleaſed to expreſs yourſelf in reference to the church of England, were every way ſo obliging and ſatisfactory, that I look upon myſelf as bound in duty to acknowledge the deep ſenſe I and every true member of the ſame church ought to have of ſo great a bleſſing. And though you are at preſent at a diſtance from us, and not ſo well able to partake of the fruits of ſo good intentions, yet when we ſhall have ſerved this King with all fidelity, ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe God to continue him amongſt us; as none that know you will queſtion the ſincerity of your performance, ſo, I make no doubt, but you will ſoon find the benefit of having taken up ſo wiſe reſolutions. For, Sir, you that ſee all the great motions of the world, and can ſo well judge of them, know there is no reliance upon any thing that is not ſteady to principles, and prefers not the common good before private intereſt. I pray God continue to be gracious to you, and to direct and proſper all your councils, and to crown the endeavours of your life with the conſummation of all happineſs; which ſhall ever be the moſt hearty prayer of, Sir,

Your Highneſs's moſt faithful,

And obliged ſervant,

H. LONDON."

Lady

Lady Sunderland to the Prince of Orange, in answer to the Prince's letter.——Assurances of her attachment.

SIR,

"WHEN there is such an occasion as Mr. Sidney has offered me, of writing by one of your Highness's servants, I could not forgive myself if I did neglect returning you my humble thanks for the honour of your letter by Mr. Sidney. I do think myself very happy to have done any thing you like and accept, and which I can never fail of, if ever it were in my power to express my zeal and affection for your service, which can never alter but with my life. Till this opportunity I durst not so much as return your Highness my thanks for your favourable reception of my intentions; and I have at present so great a head-ache, that I have writ, if possible, a stranger hand than ordinary; but yet I could not lose this opportunity of assuring you of my being, with all the duty, as well as inclination, Sir,

Your Highness's most faithful,

Dec. 23, 1687. Humble, and obedient servant,

A. SUNDERLAND."

Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange.

MONSEIGNEUR,

JE n'ay gardé de laisser passer cette occasion d'assurer votre Alteſſe de mes trés humbles services, et de prendre la liberté de luy temoigner en peu de mots mes pensées sur la lettre qui a paru icy depuis quelques jours sous les nom de Monsieur Fagel. On est ravi d'y trouver les sentiments de votre Alteſſe et de Madame la Princeſſe en matiere de religion, non seulement si equitables, mais si conformes à l'interest et au gout de toute la nation, si ce n'est de ceux qui par une pretendue liberté de conscience, cherchent l'occasion de la detruire entierement, comme en effet on le voit en tous les lieux ou ils

ont depouvoir de la faire. On y remarque une diſtinction tout à fait judicieuſe, des loix appellé Penales, à celles du Teſt; puiſque ces dernieres ne regardent que le maintien de la religion et du gouvernement, qui ſans ce boulevart courent grand riſque d'être renverſés. Ce qui me regarde en particulier, ne vaut pas la peine d'en importuner votre Alteſſe; cependant je ne ſouhaitte pas qu'elle le fût pas d'autres voyes, avant que je me donnaſſe l'honneur de lui en toucher quelque choſe. Je prens donc la liberté de lui mander, que le marriage de mon fils avec la fille de Madame Ruſſel eſt ſur le point d'être conclu; auquel je ſupplie trés humblement l'agreement de votre Alteſſe, ce que reglera toujours la conduite de Monſeigneur,

De votre Alteſſe le trés humble,
Et trés obeiſſant ſerviteur,
DEVONSHIRE."

Tranſlation.

The Earl of Devonſhire to the Prince of Orange.—Congratulates him on his conduct about Fagel and Stuart's letters.

My Lord,

I Cannot let this occaſion paſs of aſſuring your Highneſs of my moſt humble ſervices, and to take the liberty of teſtifying to you, in a few words, my thoughts upon the letter which has appeared here a few days ago under the name of Mr. Fagel. People are in raptures to find the ſentiments of your Highneſs and of the Princeſs in matters of religion, not only ſo equitable, but ſo agreeable to the intereſt, and to the taſte of all the nation, except thoſe who by a pretended liberty of conſcience ſeek the opportunity to deſtroy it intirely, as in effect is ſeen in all places where they have the power to do it. People remark in the letter a diſtinction altogether judicious between the laws which are called Penal, and thoſe of the Teſt;

Teſt; ſeeing theſe laſt have no regard but to the maintenance of the religion and government, which without this bulwark run a great riſk of being overturned. What regards me in particular, is not worth the while to trouble your Highneſs with; yet I do not wiſh that you ſhould know it from others, before I do myſelf the honour to touch upon it to you. I take then the liberty to inform you, that the marriage of my ſon with the daughter of lady Ruſſel is upon the point of being concluded; to which I beg the approbation of your Highneſs, which will always regulate the conduct of,

My Lord, your Highneſs's moſt
obedient, and moſt humble ſervant,
DEVONSHIRE."

The Marquis of Wincheſter to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe, in anſwer to a letter from the Prince.—His gratitude for the honour of it.

SIR,

"I Am ſo ſenſible of the great honour that your Highneſs is pleaſed, by my dear nephew Howe, to expreſs for me, and likewiſe the great grace and favour he received from your Highneſs, that I hold myſelf obliged (with all humble ſubmiſſion for the preſumption) to declare my gratitude under my own hand, intreating your Highneſs to believe, that my prayers and beſt wiſhes are and ever ſhall be for your increaſe of glory and happineſs ſuitable to your bravery and merit, and that high eſteem your Highneſs has over all this part of the world, which ſhall always have the firſt place in the heart of,

Your ſerene Highneſs's moſt dutiful,
Baſing, Feb. 20, 1687-8. And obedient, humble ſervant,
WINCHESTER."

Earl of Shrewſbury to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe, in anſwer to a letter from the Prince.—Is to be with the Prince in ſummer. The King makes no progreſs either in England or Scotland.

London, March 14, 1687-8.

"I Could not, Sir, let Mr. Howe, who goes away this afternoon, part without making my humble acknowledgements to your Highneſs for the kind expreſſions in your letter; if the ſtate of our affairs here will any ways permit, I will not fail this ſummer to pay them in perſon, and ſhall be diſappointed of a journey I very earneſtly ſet my heart upon, if things ſhould come to ſuch an extreme as to prevent me. The only conſiderable news I can learn here is, that there has a diſagreement happened between my Lord Sunderland and Fra. Peters; how that may be compoſed, or what conſequences it will have if it continues, I dare not decide. Though we conſtantly talk of a parliament, yet I imagine our miniſters are a little at a ſtand in their councils, when they conſider how unanimous the anſwers have been through all the counties; neither have they met with much better ſucceſs, as I am informed, in Scotland. I have this very morning, Sir, met with a report, which though I hope it is not true, yet it has renewed the fears I very often had for you: we are told there is a man ſeized at the Hague for attempting to poiſon you. Though I have not this from ſo ſure hands as to give abſolute credit to it, yet I cannot help putting your Highneſs in mind how poſſible it is, and beg in the behalf of millions that you will take care of yourſelf; it ſeems hard that one ſhould be ſolicitous for others ſake, when one is naturally not ſo for oneſelf. But the ſame generoſity that in ordinary caſes makes one deſpiſe a life, in ſo extraordinary a circumſtance as yours obliges you to be careful, ſince the ſecurity and happineſs not only of many men but many nations depend upon it; be, Sir, but as zealous to preſerve yourſelf for the common good, as you have been forward to expoſe it for the ſame cauſe,

and

and all your ſervants will remain ſatisfied with your care: that it may be effectual, ſhall be the daily and hearty wiſhes of,

Sir, Your Highneſs's moſt obedient,
And faithful, humble ſervant,
SHREWSBURY."

Marquis of Wincheſter to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe, in anſwer to a letter from the Prince.—Probably a cant letter aſſuring the Prince of his ſervices.

"I Received your moſt ſerene Highneſs's letter, and ſince you are pleaſed to deſire the concluſion of the match propoſed, to ſhow your Highneſs how ready I am on my part in obeying your commands, I have immediately ſent over a gentleman to make out what I have promiſed (which I will perform) by Captain Howe my dear nephew, and I do not doubt but that the Marquis of Montpelier, my ancient friend and acquaintance, will do the ſame, and then this gentleman I ſend has power to conclude. I am infinitely obliged to your Highneſs for your many kind expreſſions to me, which I will always own by all the duty and ſervice that ever can be paid to your moſt ſerene Highneſs,

Baſing, April 16, 1688. By your moſt dutiful and obedient, And moſt obliged humble ſervant, WINCHESTER."

Marquis of Wincheſter to the Prince of Orange.—Sends over his two ſons to viſit the Prince.

Baſing, April 23, 1688.

"I Cannot omit any opportunity humbly to preſent my duty and ſervice to your moſt ſerene Highneſs by a ſafe hand. This I know to be ſo, having had great experience of my friend captain Man's fidelity and

ingenuitie, having intruſted him in many matters of great moment, in which I always received full and ample ſatisfaction; I therefore have humbly recommended him to your Highneſs's favour, which he is very ambitious to have. I hope this ſmall eſſay of my ſervice will be agreeable to Your moſt ſerene Highneſs, offered with all duty, by

Your Highneſs's moſt dutiful,
Obedient, and moſt obliged, humble ſervant,
WINCHESTER."

I humbly deſire leave to preſent my humble duty and ſervice to her royal Highneſs.

My ſon Wilts will ſoon pay his own and my duty to your moſt ſerene Highneſs, going over this week; my ſon William is impatient to do the ſame, and though I am loath to part with him before his brother returns, yet I have that deſire that all mine ſhould ſhew their duty to your Highneſs, that I will deny my own inclination, (as ſoon as I can overcome it) and ſend him to lie at your feet, for he is fully devoted to your ſervice and intereſt. I envy my ſon's happineſs, which nothing but my ill health could hinder me from enjoying, but I freely ſubmit to God's will to be deprived of that great pleaſure I deſire earneſtly."

Part of a letter from Lord Danby to the Prince of Orange. —Inſinuates ſuſpicions of the Queen's pregnancy.—The nation wants only an opportunity to ſhew their zeal for his ſervice.

London, March 27, 1688.

"MANY of our ladies ſay, that the Queen's great belly ſeems to grow faſter than they have obſerved their own to do; and becauſe it is fit her Majeſty ſhould always have the greateſt perſons near her in this condition, I hope the Princeſs will take care that the Princeſs Anne may be always within call; and eſpecially to ſee (when the time is near) that the mid-

wife

wife diſcharges her duty with that care which ought to be had in a caſe of ſo great concern. Our zeal here for the Proteſtant religion does apparently increaſe every day in all parts of the nation, and the examination of the minds of the nobility and gentry has made ſuch an union for the defence of it through the Kingdom, that I verily believe they begin to deſpair of ſupplanting it by violent means, and it is certain they can do it no other way. The conſtancy and firmneſs which both the Princeſſes have ſhewed in their religion, and your Highneſs's mind in relation to things here (which was ſo prudently made known by Monſieur Fagel's letter) has ſo contributed alſo to add courage to that union, that I look upon our ſecurity to be much ſtrengthened by it, as well as both your highneſſes intereſts raiſed here beyond your own expectations, inſomuch that I am confident there wants only an opportunity to the greateſt part of the nation to ſhew their zeal for your ſervice. I muſt beg your Highneſs's excuſe for ſo tedious a letter, and yet I am deſirous to have ſaid much more, but that without ſome diſcourſe to explain myſelf, I might be liable either to have my meaning miſtaken, or not fully underſtood, which would only be to give your Highneſs an uſeleſs trouble.

I have one thing only to lament, that although our union in general be very great, yet particular diſtruſts are ſo great alſo, as render many good intentions very ineffectual. I am, with all that duty and reſpect I ought to be, your Highneſs's moſt faithful and obedient ſervant."

Part of Lord Danby's letter to the Prince of Orange.—The King's ſuſpicions of the Prince.

London, March 29, 1688.

"I Am forced to give your Highneſs the trouble of this ſecond letter, to inform you, that upon my ſon's aſking the King's leave to go beyond ſea, his Majeſty

jeſty granted the leave, but ſaid with ſome heat, Provided it be not into Holland, for I will ſuffer nobody to go thither. My ſon anſwering that he had no deſign of any thing but to ſee a country he had not ſeen; the King anſwered, Perhaps ſo, but he had relations who had other deſigns there, and he knew there were thoſe in Holland who gave themſelves hopes of ſeeing ſome Engliſh Lords at the head of ſome of their ſquadrons, but he would take care to prevent it. After this diſcourſe to my ſon, which was in a room next to the bed-chamber, he came out into the bed-chamber, and my Lord Dumbarton and Lord Litchfield being only there, the King ſaid to my Lord Dumbarton, I find they are much ſurpriſed in Holland with my raiſing three new regiments; to which my Lord Dumbarton anſwered, that he wondered why they ſhould be ſo; the King replied, they would be ſurpriſed much more before he had done with them. This was on the 27th at night, and on the 28th my ſon went to court to get his paſs from one of the Secretaries of State, and the King happening to ſee him, called him to one ſide of the room, and ſaid, My lord, I had newly received ſome news laſt night when you ſpoke to me, which had diſturbed me, and made me ſpeak to you in ſome diſorder, therefore I would not have you take notice of any thing I then ſaid to you, for I dare truſt you to go where you will; but ſaid, If you go only for curioſity, you might as well ſatisfy that elſewhere as in Holland."

Earl of Devonſhire to the Prince of Orange.

MONSIEGNEUR,

"JE n'ay pu trouver une occaſion avant le depart de Monſieur Howe de temoigner ma trés humble reconnoiſſance à votre Alteſſe de toutes les bontés qu'elle à pour moy. Les affaires icy ſont á peu pres dans le même état. Le Roy declare toujours ſon intention de convoquer un parlement, quoique les affaires ne ſemblent

guerres

guerres disposées à cela. On croit que ce pourra être environ le tems des couches de la Reyne. Les catholiques Romains voulans absolument que ce soit d'un fils, et d'ailleurs l' armée de Hounslow sera dans le voisinage. Ce ne son que des conjectures, et votre Altesse ne peut pas manquer de lumieres bien plus authentiques que celles que je suis capable de luy donner. Mais il est constant, qu' on s'attend à de grandes extremités. Toutes nos esperances sont fondées sur la seureté de votre personne, et de celle de Madame la Princesse, lesquelles Dieu preserve de toutes sortes de machinations et d' attentats. Personne le souhaitte avec plus d' ardeur et de passion que fait, Monseigneur le plus obsequieux et le plus humble de tous vos serviteurs.

DEVONSHIRE."

Le 13 me de Mars, V. S.

Translation.

Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe.—Insinuates suspicions of the Queen's pregnancy.

My Lord,

"I Have not found an occasion before the departure of Mr. Howe to testify my humble gratitude to your Highness for all your goodness to me. Affairs here are almost in the same state. The king declares always his intentions to assemble a parliament, although matters do not seem disposed for it; they believe that it will be about the time of the Queen's being brought to bed. The Roman Catholics incline absolutely that it should be a son; and besides, the army at Hounslow will be in the neighbourhood. These are only conjectures, and your Highness cannot want lights much more authentic, than those which I am capable of giving. But it is certain, that we expect great extreimites. All our hopes are founded upon the security of your person, and that of the Princess, both of whom may God preserve from all plots and attacks. Nobody wishes it

with

with more ardour and paſſion, than does, my Lord, the moſt obſequious and the moſt humble of all your ſervants,

13th March, Old Stile. DEVONSHIRE."

Lord Hallifax to the Prince of Orange.——The King gains nothing on the nation.——Adviſes to cautious meaſures.

"I Avoid giving your Highneſs unneceſſary trouble, and though this hath a good convenience, yet it may, perhaps, be ſo long in its way to you, that it will not be pertinent to repeat what you will have had from other hands. There hath been little that is new this great while, ſince either the old methods have continued, or elſe what appeareth to be new, is at leaſt not ſtrange, being produced by a natural conſequence, and therefore to be reaſonably expected and foreſeen. In ſome particulars, to men at a diſtance, the engine ſeemeth to move faſt, but by looking nearer, one may ſee it doth not ſtir upon the whole matter, ſo that here is a rapid motion without advancing a ſtep, which is the only miracle that church hath yet ſhewed to us. Every attempt turneth back upon them. They change the magiſtracy in the corporations, and ſtill for the worſe, as to their deſigns. The irregular methods have ſpent themſelves without effect; they have run ſo faſt that they begin to be out of breath, and the exerciſe of extraordinary powers, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, is ſo far from fixing the right of them, that men are more united in objecting to them. The world is ſtill where it was, with this only difference, that it groweth every day more averſe to that which is endeavoured to be impoſed upon them. The very Papiſts who have eſtates, act like preſſed men, and have ſuch an eye to what may happen in a revolution, that their preſent advantages hardly make amends for their fears; upon the whole, they are ſo divided between the fear

of

of losing their opportunity by delay, or spoiling it with too much haste, that their steps are wavering and uncertain, and distrusting the very instruments they use, they are under great mortifications, notwithstanding the appearance of carrying every thing without opposition. Being thus discouraged by their ill success in their attempts, some say they are altering their scheme, and not finding their expectations answered by the Dissenters, they have thoughts of returning to their old friends, the High Church Men; but the truth is, the Papists have of late been so hard and fierce upon them, that the very species of those formerly mistaken men is destroyed; they have so broken that loom in pieces, that they cannot now set it up again to work upon it: in the mean time the men at the helm are certainly divided amongst themselves, which will produce great effects, if men will let it work, and not prevent the advantages that may be expected, by being too unquiet, or doing things out of season; the great thing to be done now, is to do nothing, but wait for the good consequences of their divisions and mistakes. Unseasonable stirrings, or any thing that looketh like the Protestants being the aggressors, will tend to unite them, and by that means will be a disappointment to those hopes, which otherwise can hardly fail: nothing, therefore, in the present conjuncture can be more dangerous than unskilful agitators, warm men, who would be active at a wrong time, and want patience to keep their zeal from running away with them. It is said by some, that there is an intention of making a new attempt to beget a better understanding with your Highness; that in order to it, the present Envoy, as less acceptable, is to be removed, and another sent, who, if he should be less known, may, perhaps, for that very reason, be the more dangerous: if this should be true, and that softer proposals should be made from hence, it will deserve all your caution to receive them so as neither to give advantage by rejecting them too roughly on

one

one ſide, or on the other, by giving any colour for them to pretend there is a conſent given to any thing that may be inconvenient. After the reports raiſed here, without any manner of ground, firſt of your Highneſs being a Papiſt, then of your being deſirous to have the Teſt repealed, there is nothing of that kind which may not be thought poſſible; ſo that if there ſhould now be any nearer treaty, it might, perhaps, be made uſe of with more advantage by them, to miſlead men at a diſtance into a wrong belief. In lower inſtances, it hath not been unuſual, in ſuch caſes, to ſet propoſals on foot, of which no other effect is expected, than to bring men under doubts and ſuſpicions from their own friends. The inſtruments that ſhall be made uſe of, their intereſts and dependencies being well conſidered and examined, will give a great deal of light, if any thing of this kind ſhould be attempted; and it happeneth well, that they will have to do with one who knoweth ſo well how to judge of men and things, as not to be within the danger of being eaſily ſurpriſed, neither by any upon this occaſion, nor by any other of our countrymen who ſpeak what is dictated to them by men of ſeveral intereſts, or endeavour to value themſelves upon their correſpondencies and influences here, which, I doubt, have ſeldom foundation enough for your Highneſs to build upon. There can be nothing better recommended to you, than the continuance of the method which you practiſe; neither comply in any thing that is unfit, nor to provoke further anger by any act that is unneceſſary. This will not, perhaps, be ſufficient to prevent ill will, but it will, in a great meaſure, ſecure you from the ill effects of it. Your Highneſs muſt allow me to applaud my good fortune in not having hitherto made a wrong conjecture about the ſitting of the parliament: notwithſtanding the diſcourſes that have been made by the great men, with the greateſt aſſurance, that it would meet one time after another, I ever thought it impracticable, conſidering the meaſures that are taken, and I

am

am now as much an unbeliever for October, as I was for April, which was the time prefixed for the meeting; with all this your Highneſs muſt expect, that it will ſtill be given out, there will be one; it is not, perhaps, thought convenient, neither indeed would it be ſo, that all foreign Princes and ſtates ſhould conclude, there never will be a parliament in England in this King's reign; a great deal would depend upon ſuch an opinion received, which would have an influence upon their manner of treating with us; but according to the moſt rational conjecture, how extraordinary ſoever things may appear which have been done, the letting a parliament meet as matters now ſtand, would ſo undo them all, that it is hardly to be ſuppoſed poſſible. The other great point which at preſent maketh the diſcourſe, is, whether England will have a war with the States; in this, the more thinking ſort of men are of opinion there will be none. There is diſpoſition enough for it, for reaſons which need not be explained; but there are ſo many diſcouraging circumſtances, and the prejudice from ill ſucceſs would be ſo much greater than the utmoſt which can be hoped in caſe of proſpering, that the men in power muſt go againſt all the common methods of arguing, if they venture upon an experiment which may be ſo deſtructive to them. I have tired your Highneſs ſo long, that it is time for me to cloſe with my wiſhes for your own and the Princeſs's health, which are of that conſequence to the world, that nothing can be deſperate whilſt you are well and ſafe. For myſelf, I muſt ever be unalterably devoted to you.

London, April 12, 1688.

Some of the preceding letters mention the vain attempts of the King to gain over individuals to agree to the abolition of the Teſts. The following papers are authentic evidences of this.

King

King James to the Duke of Hamilton.——Desires a positive answer whether he will agree to the abolition of the Tests.

Whitehall, Feb. 11, 1688.

In the Duke of Hamilton's possession.

"BEFORE this gets to you, you will have had time to discourse with some one of the law, as well as of the gospel, concerning the Test and Penal laws, so that you may as well now, as at any time, give an account if you can comply with what I desire, and join with those of my loyal subjects who are for the repeal of these laws and Test, and for settling an entire liberty of conscience, which you know is what I drive at, and make no doubts of bringing about in all my dominions. You see the condescension I had for you, in not expecting an answer from you before you left this place, and that now I do not let this question be asked you by any but myself; but now I must do it, and expect your positive answer as to these points I have mentioned to you, and of which I discoursed with you before you went, and that by letter to myself. If you come the length of what I desire, of which I can make no doubt, then I leave it to you to let the rest of these, I trust in my affairs there, know it or not, as you think best. But in case you cannot comply, then you are to let nobody know it but myself and Lord Sunderland, who sends this to you: and I expect your positive answer within two or three days after your having received this.

JAMES R.

The Duke of Hamilton to King James, in answer to the foregoing.——Desires time to consider.

SIR,

In the Duke of Hamilton's possession.

"YOUR Majesty's letter did extremely surprise me, to find I had mistaken the time your Majesty had allowed me to consider of the repealing our

our Penal laws and Teſt. Since I came to this place I have had very ill health, and this being the laſt week of the ſeſſion, I have not had the opportunities ſo to diſcourſe with any one of the law or goſpel, as to receive that ſatisfaction as I can give your Majeſty a poſitive anſwer how far I may join in the repeal of the Penal laws and Teſt for ſettling an entire liberty of conſcience. I have been ever and am ſtill of the ſame opinion, that none ſhould ſuffer for conſcience-ſake; and that every peaceable ſubject ſhould be allowed the exerciſe of their own religion; but how this is to be done with ſecurity to the Proteſtant religion, our laws, and oaths, is in my humble opinion what will deſerve ſerious conſideration, and is above what I can preſently determine myſelf in. Therefore I do moſt humbly beg of your Majeſty to pardon my not being more poſitive in my anſwer, and allow me a forbearance till I wait on you, and your Majeſty may be aſſured, as on earth I deſire nothing ſo much as your favour; ſo it will be no earthly conſideration will make me do any thing to loſe it, which would be the greateſt affliction could come to, Sir,

Your Majeſty's
Moſt humble, moſt faithful,
And moſt obedient ſubject, and ſervant."

In Lord Preſton's copy-book of diſpatches there is the following order.

In Mr. Graham's poſſeſſion.

"THAT the Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Cumberland, and Weſtmoreland do call before him, all the deputy-lieutenants, and juſtices of the peace, within his lieutenancy, either jointly, or ſeparately, as he ſhall think beſt, and aſk them, one by one, the following queſtions.

1. If in caſe he ſhall be choſen Knight of the Shire, or Burgeſſe of a town, when the King ſhall think fit to call a parliament, whether he will be for taking off the Penal laws, and the Teſts.

2. Whether he will aſſiſt, and contribute, to the election of ſuch member, as ſhall be for taking off the Penal laws, and Teſts.

3. Whether he will ſupport the King's declaration for liberty of conſcience, by living friendly with thoſe of all perſuaſions, as ſubjects of the ſame Prince, and good Chriſtians ought to do.

As he ſhall aſk theſe queſtions of all deputy-lieutenants, and juſtices of the peace; ſo he ſhall particularly write down what every one anſwers, whether he conſents, refuſeth, or is doubtful.

That he likewiſe do bring the King as good an account as he can of all the ſeveral corporations within the lieutenancy. What perſons, of ſuch as are willing to comply with theſe meaſures, have credit enough of their own, to be choſen parliament men, or may be choſen, if aſſiſted by their friends.

And laſtly, what Catholicks, and what diſſenters are fit to be added, either to the liſt of the deputy-lieutenants, or to the commiſſion of the peace, throughout the ſaid lieutenancy.

After the petition of the Biſhops, the connexion of the Prince of Orange with the friends of liberty in England was carried on chiefly by Mr. Ruſſel afterwards Earl of Orford, and Mr. Sidney afterwards Earl of Romney, until the birth of the Prince of Wales, when the careleſs air of count Zuliſten was a ſecond time made uſe of upon an errand of ceremony, to congratulate the birth of the Prince of Wales. But the real intention of his journey was to concert with the Prince's friends, his intended expedition to England.

From the time of the Biſhops preſenting their petition in the middle of May 1688, till the beginning of Auguſt,

Auguſt, when Mr. Sidney went to Holland, and count Zuliſten returned to it, there are in King William's box the following letters, among others, to the Prince of Orange.

Admiral Herbert to the Prince of Orange.——Upon the prince's invitation communicated by Ruſſel, is ſoon to go to Holland.

SIR,

"IT is from your Highneſs's great generoſity, that I muſt hope for pardon for preſuming to write in ſo unpoliſhed a ſtile, which will not furniſh me with words ſuitable to the ſenſe I have of your Highneſs's goodneſs to me in the midſt of my misfortunes. Sir, it is from Mr. Ruſſel I have underſtood it to be your pleaſure I ſhould come over, where I may be aſſured of your Highneſs's protection; it is a favour I mean very ſoon to embrace, though I can never ſufficiently acknowledge it either by expreſſion or action, and therefore can only ſay, I have a life entirely at your devotion, and that I ſhall think every hour of it loſt that is not employed in your Highneſs's ſervice, to which if I can any ways contribute I ſhall no longer think myſelf unfortunate: this is what I moſt humbly beg your Highneſs will believe, and that I am with great ſincerity,

Sir,

Your moſt humble, and moſt faithful ſervant,

London, May the 24th. AR. HERBERT."

Lord Shrewſbury to the Prince of Orange.——Anxious for a pretence to go to the Prince.

London, May 14, 1688.

"WE live here, Sir, in a country where one muſt be of a very temperate conſtitution, not to meet with vexations that will more than try one's patience. I confeſs I had ſo ſet my heart upon the hopes of kiſſing your Highneſs's hands this ſummer, that it is with great regret that I ſee myſelf in danger of being diſappointed of what I ſhall always eſteem my pleaſure as well as my duty: but wiſer people aſſure me, that the jealouſies of our ſuperiors augment ſo faſt, that ſuch a journey would be unſerviceable to you, as well as unſafe to me. There is not a day that Mr. Sidney and I do not heartily lament this diſappointment, and when one conſiders, that theſe ſuſpicions are merely grounded upon their own actions, and the reſentment they gueſs we may have of them, but not upon any occaſion we have given, it ſeems a little too ſevere to be puniſhed and reſtrained, becauſe one has been already ill uſed. If I am a little warmer upon this ſubject than I ought, you would ſoon pardon me, if you knew how much I abominate all excuſes; becauſe commonly they are but ſhifts; and now to be forced to make one to your Highneſs, who of all men living I honour and eſteem the moſt, is a hardſhip I cannot eaſily forgive; but I will not yet abſolutely deſpair, there are many accidents may happen to give me a pretence, and the leaſt plauſible one I aſſure you ſhall ſerve my turn; and in what part of the world ſoever I am, I ſhall always be, Sir,

Your Highneſs's moſt faithful,
And obedient, humble ſervant,
SHREWSBURY."

Lord

Lord Lumley to the Prince of Orange——With an offer of his ſervices.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

" THE reſpect and duty of all that can ſafely call themſelves Engliſhmen is ſo much due to your Highneſs, that to defer any opportunity of ſhewing it were to neglect that intereſt which can only make us happy. This, Sir, encouraged me humbly to offer to your Highneſs the utmoſt of my ſervices, and to aſſure you that there is no man in England, on whom your Highneſs may more certainly depend for whatever ſervice I am capable of doing you. Until ſuch time as I may have the honour of receiving any directions from your Highneſs, the good of my country ſhall be by all means endeavoured by me, on whoſe fate your Highneſs's does not a little depend. That happineſs may enſue to both, ſhall be always the endeavour of your Highneſs's

Moſt devoted and humble ſervant,

May 31ſt. LUMLEY."

There is in the box the following key to names in the hand-writing of Mr. Sidney, incloſed in one of his letters at this time to the Prince of Orange, without which the cyphers in ſome of the letters could not be underſtood.

" *Lord Halifax*	21
Lord of Nottingham	23
Lord Devonſhire	24
Lord Shrewſbury	25
Lord of Danby	27
Lord Lumley	29
Lord of Bath	30
Biſhop of London	31
Mr. Sidney	33
Mr. Ruſſel	35

This I deſire you to keep by you."

Notwithſtanding the Prince of Orange's deſire to go to England, he avoided indulging it until he ſhould receive an invitation from ſome of the great Engliſh families. The following letter written either in a woman's hand, or in a hand feigned like a woman's, relates to ſuch an invitation then in agitation.

To the Prince of Orange.—The invitation he expects not yet ready.—Lord Halifax backward.

June 18, 1688.

"THIS I ſuppoſe will be ſafely delivered, but yet I ſhall not ſay much; in a few days you will receive another, wherein you will know the mind of your friends. I believe you expected it before now, but it could not be ready; this is only in the name of your principal friends, which are ——— (Notting. 23.) ——— (Shrewſb. 25.) ——— (Danby. 27.) ——— (B. of London. 31.) ——— (Sidney. 33.) ——— to deſire you to defer making your complement till you have the letter I mention; what they are likely to adviſe in the next, you may eaſily gueſs, and prepare yourſelf accordingly. I ſhall write by Mr. Foſter, who hath a mind to be employed, and will talk to you of things of importance; you know how he is to be managed, therefore I need give no further caution. The Lords I believe will act vigorouſly in the buſineſs of the biſhops; they (the biſhops) reſolve when they come to their trial to deny the juriſdiction of court, which will anger extremely, and draw great puniſhment upon themſelves. Then the Lords will petition in their behalf. ——— (Halifax. 21.) hath been backward in all this matter. ——— (Devonſhire. 24.) hath been with me this afternoon, and I find will be entirely your friend."

Earl

Earl of Shrewſbury to the Prince of Orange.—He is as much his ſervant on the 18th, as he was on the 9th of June.

London, June 18, 1688.

"RATHER than diſoblige Mr. Foſter, I am forced to trouble your Highneſs. I promiſed to write by him, and had then a proſpect of ſaying more than I am now able to do, but I hope that will not be deferred many days. I have the honour and happineſs to know your humour too well to fill up a letter with compliments, having nothing ſubſtantial to ſay, but that I am this eighteenth of June as I was the ninth,

Your Highneſs's moſt devoted,
And obedient, humble ſervant,
SHREWSBURY."

The expreſſion in this letter that he was as much the Prince of Orange's at the date of the letter, is ſingular. It either refers to ſome meeting of the party which had been on the 9th of June, or it implies that the birth of the Prince of Wales, which was on the 10th of June, had made no alteration in his ſentiments.

At length the invitation for the Prince to come over, or rather the aſſociation for joining him when he ſhould come, was ſigned on the 30th of June 1688, by Lord Devonſhire, Lord Danby, Lord Shrewſbury, Lord Lumley, the Biſhop of London, Admiral Ruſſel, and Mr. Sidney. Immortal ſeven! whoſe memories Britain can never ſufficiently revere. The original is in Sidney's hand in King William's box, as follows.

The association signed only by seven, inviting the prince of Orange over.

June 30, 1688.

"WE have great satisfaction to find by 35, and since by Monsr. Zulestein, that your Highness is so ready and willing to give us such assistances as they have related to us. We have great reason to believe, we shall be every day in a worse condition than we are, and less able to defend ourselves, and therefore we do earnestly wish we might be so happy as to find a remedy before it be too late for us to contribute to our own deliverance; but although these be our wishes, yet we will, by no means put your Highness into any expectations which may misguide your own councils in this matter; so that the best advice we can give, is to inform your Highness truly both of the state of things here at this time, and of the difficulties which appear to us. As to the first, the people are so generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the government, in relation to their religion, liberties and properties (all which have been greatly invaded) and they are in such expectation of their prospects being daily worse, that your Highness may be assured, that there are nineteen parts of twenty of the people throughout the kingdom, who are desirous of a change; and who, we believe, would willingly contribute to it, if they had such a protection to countenance their rising, as would secure them from being destroyed, before they could get to be in a posture able to defend themselves; it is no less certain that much the greatest part of the nobility and gentry are much dissatisfied, although it be not safe to speak

ſpeak to many of them before hand; and there is no doubt but that ſome of the moſt conſiderable of them would venture themſelves with your Highneſs at your firſt landing, whoſe intereſts would be able to draw great numbers of them, whenever they could protect them and the raiſing and drawing men together; and if ſuch a ſtrength could be landed as were able to defend itſelf and them, till they could be got together into ſome order, we make no queſtion but that ſtrength would quickly be increaſed to a number double to the army here, although their army ſhould all remain firm to them; whereas we do upon very good grounds believe, that their army then would be very much divided among themſelves; many of the officers being ſo diſcontented that they continue in their ſervice only for a ſubſiſtance, (beſides that, ſome of their minds are known already) and very many of the common ſoldiers do daily ſhew ſuch an averſion to the Popiſh religion, that there is the greateſt probability imaginable of great numbers of deſerters which would come from them, ſhould there be ſuch an occaſion; and amongſt the ſeamen, it is almoſt certain, there is not one in ten who would do them any ſervice in ſuch a war. Beſides all this, we do much doubt, whether this preſent ſtate of things will not yet be much changed to the worſe before another year, by a great alteration which will probably be made both in the officers and ſoldiers of the army, and by ſuch other changes as are not only to be expected from a packed parliament, but what the meeting of parliament (in our preſent circumſtances) may produce againſt thoſe, who will be looked upon as principal obſtructers of their proceedings there; it being taken for granted, that if things cannot then be carried to their wiſhes in a parliamentary way, other meaſures will be put in execution by more violent means; and although ſuch proceedings will then heighten the diſcontents,

tents, yet ſuch courſes will probably be taken at that time, as will prevent all poſſible means of relieving ourſelves.

Theſe conſiderations make us of opinion, that this is a ſeaſon in which we may more probably contribute to our own ſafeties than hereafter (although we muſt own to your Highneſs there are ſome judgments differing from ours in this particular) in ſo much that if the circumſtances ſtand ſo with your Highneſs, that you believe you can get here time enough, in a condition to give aſſiſtances this year ſufficient for a relief under theſe circumſtances which have been now repreſented, we who ſubſcribe this will not fail to attend your Highneſs upon your landing, and to do all that lies in our power to prepare others to be in as much readineſs as ſuch an action is capable of, where there is ſo much danger in communicating an affair of ſuch a nature, till it be near the time of its being made public. But as we have already told your Highneſs, we muſt alſo lay our difficulties before your Highneſs, which are chiefly; that we know not what alarum your preparations for this expedition may give, or what notice it will be neceſſary for you to give the States before hand, by either of which means their intelligence or ſuſpicions here, may be ſuch, as may cauſe us to be ſecured before your landing; and we muſt preſume to inform your Highneſs, that your compliment upon the birth of the child (which not one in a thouſand here believes to be the Queen's) hath done you ſome injury; the falſe impoſing of that upon the Princeſs and the nation, being not only an infinite exaſperation of people's minds here, but being certainly one of the chief cauſes upon which the declaration of your entering the kingdom in a hoſtile manner, muſt be founded on your part, although many other reaſons are to be given on ours. If, upon a due conſideration of all theſe circumſtances, your Highneſs ſhall think fit to adventure upon the attempt, or at leaſt to make ſuch preparations for it as are neceſſary, (which we wiſh you may)

may) there must be no more time lost, in letting us know your resolution concerning it, and in what time we may depend that all the preparations will be ready, as also whether your Highness does believe the preparations can be so managed as not to give them warning here, both to make them increase their force, and to secure those they shall suspect would join with you. We need not say any thing about ammunition, artillery, mortar pieces, spare arms, &c. because if you think fit to put any thing in execution, you will provide enough of these kinds, and will take care to bring some good engineers with you; and we have desired Mr. H. to consult you about all such matters, to whom we have communicated our thoughts in many particulars too tedious to have been written, and about which no certain resolutions can be taken, till we have heard again from your Highness.

25. 24. 27. 29. 31. 35. 33.
Sh. Dev. Danby. Lumley. London. Russel. Sydney.

Mr. Sidney to the Prince of Orange.——Expresses fears of the design.——Advises him to borrow Schomberg.——Nottingham's heart has failed him.

June 30, 1688.

"THE bearer hereof carrying with him a letter from the most prudent and most knowing persons that we have in this nation, and he himself being well instructed in the condition of our affairs, it is a presumption in me to think of adding any thing else; but you having ever given me leave to speak freely to you, I have ever told you every thought of my heart. I am too much concerned for your interest, your life, and your reputation, to say a word of persuasion to you to undertake this matter; you know your own business best, what power you have over the fleet and the army, and whether you can transport men with privacy;

cy; for it is moſt certain, that if it be made public above a fortnight before it be put in execution, all your particular friends will be clapped up, which will terrify others, or at leaſt make them not know what to do, and will, in all probability, ruin the whole deſign. If you go on with this undertaking, I think I ſhall not do amiſs, to put you in mind of one man that, I believe, will be very uſeful to you; it is the Mareſchal Schomberg, who (by what you told me of him, and by what he writ to me) I do not doubt but he will be ready to ſerve you; he hath the reputation all the world over of being knowing in his profeſſion, and beſides he is extremely beloved in this country, ſo that if you could borrow him for a while, it would be of great advantage to this affair. I give you many thanks for yours by Monſ. Zuleſtein, and the particular favour in it; I am indeed of opinion, that if you think fit to go on with this buſineſs, that after three weeks I ſhall be more ſerviceable to you near your perſon, than I can be here; and if you are of that mind, I deſire you will command me to come to you, or elſe it may be ſome of my aſſociates will not like my going, though one of them hath already told me it is abſolutely neceſſary. When I know your pleaſure, I will endeavour to be with you in a few days, with leave or without. Your friends have deſired Monſ. Zuleſtein to ſtay here till you ſend an anſwer to the letter, and to avoid giving ſuſpicion, he is adviſed to go into the country for ſome days. This letter being writ in my own known hand, I hope you will burn it as ſoon as you have read it, and the other being ſo too, I deſire you will have it copied, or elſe I may ſuffer for it ſeven years hence. You will wonder, I believe, not to ſee the number $\frac{23}{\text{Not.}}$ among the other figures; he was gone very far, but now his heart fails him, and he will go no further; he ſaith 'tis ſcruples of conſcience, but we all conclude 'tis another paſſion; every body elſe is as well as one can wiſh, and I pray God

God they may live to do you the ſervice ſo much deſired by all honeſt men."

The two following letters from Lord Latimer and Lord Pembroke, though without dates, were probably written about this time.

Lord Latimer to the prince of Orange, in anſwer to the prince's.——Aſſures him of his ſervices.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

"I Do with all humility imaginable acknowledge the great honour of your Highneſs's letter, and do with no leſs joy receive from your Highneſs's own hand the aſſurance of being in your Highneſs's good opinion. If any occaſion could make me ſo happy as to give your Highneſs a teſtimony ſuitable to my deſires, I am ſure my actions would afford no cauſe to leſſen your Highneſs's favour towards me, and I hope, (beſide the nearneſs of relation in blood betwixt my maſter and your Highneſs) the warmneſs of intereſt will be ſo great a conſideration on both ſides, as may give opportunity to ſuch as intend my maſter's good, to make one of the beſt ſteps towards it by promoting your Highneſs's; and for what ſervices I may be capable in my own particular, I beg your Highneſs to believe that nobody ſhall exceed me, as, in truth, none can now, in the high eſteem which all the world muſt acknowledge to be due to your great merit. I dare trouble your Highneſs no longer, than to declare the great ambition I have to receive any commands from your Highneſs, and to aſſure your Highneſs they ſhall be moſt readily obeyed with all duty and reſpect, as becomes, may it pleaſe your Highneſs, your Highneſs's moſt obedient, and moſt humble ſervant,

LATIMER."

Lord

Lord Pembroke to the Prince of Orange.——To the ſame purpoſe.

"YOUR Highneſs will not wonder why I give you the trouble of a letter now, but rather if I ſhould not, conſidering the opportunity that offers itſelf by one to whom I have been very much obliged, and by one from whom I had the ſatisfaction of being aſſured of your Highneſs's favourable opinion of me. Though your Highneſs (for many reaſons) can never want ſo inconſiderable a ſervice as mine, yet you will be pleaſed to give me leave (till I can teſtify my ſervice ſome other way) to ſubſcribe myſelf, your Highneſs's moſt humble ſervant,

PEMBROKE."

Part of a letter from Lord Clarendon to the Prince of Orange, in anſwer to a letter from the Princeſs.—A letter of compliment.

July 7, 1688.

"HAVING lately had a letter from the Princeſs with the gracious aſſurance in it, that your Highneſs is pleaſed to approve of my conduct in our late affairs, it is ſo great a conſolation to me, that I hope you will not be offended at this my preſumption, in returning your Highneſs my moſt humble acknowledgments, and I beſeech you to believe, that I am incapable of doing any thing to diſpleaſe you; no man is free from ill offices being done him, but I am ſure your Highneſs is too juſt to ſuffer them to make impreſſion in you to any man's prejudice, without enquiring into the truth, and when you do that, you will find all miſrepreſentations of me, to have more of malic in them, than of ſervice to your Highneſs; ſo that I take myſelf to be very ſecure in your favourable opinion, which I will

ſtudy

ſtudy always to preſerve; and that my brother ſhould not be ſo, is an unſpeakable mortification to me; but I will not preſume to give your Highneſs any trouble concerning him.

Lord Rocheſter to the Prince of Orange.——Makes apologies for his paſt conduct.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

"I Moſt humbly beg your Highneſs's pardon for preſuming to write to you, after I know how much I am in your diſpleaſure; but your Highneſs being uſed to receive petitions from thoſe that offend you, may be pleaſed to look upon this letter in the nature of a very humble one to your Highneſs, to beſeech you that what ground ſoever you have had for your anger, you will have the goodneſs to think it hath laſted long enough againſt a man in my circumſtances, which as on one hand they are too low to be long taken notice of by ſo great a Prince, ſo on the other, they are ſuch as do now, and will ever make me have as great a duty to your perſon as any man living can have. I hope your Highneſs can forgive any faults that are not malicious, and if you will be pleaſed to reflect what intereſt I can have contrary to your Highneſs's, I am ſure you will conclude, whatever my offences are, they muſt be the effect of folly and indiſcretion, rather than of wilfulneſs to diſpleaſe you: I ſay whatever they are, becauſe I find it is for diverſe reaſons that your Highneſs is unſatisfied with me. I call God to witneſs, that except my not paying my duty to your Highneſs when I was laſt out of England, I cannot accuſe myſelf of any thing diſreſpectful or undutiful towards you; and whatever I may have to ſay for myſelf for that very great fault, I do moſt humbly aſk your pardon for it, and will do ſo for the others too, if your Highneſs ſhall condemn me whenever you have heard me. And I do moſt humbly beſeech you, that ſince I would every day of my life do any thing to

ſerve

ſerve you, I may not have the mortification to ſee how little you value it. I have written to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs upon this ſubject; and though I have had occaſion to write on one account more particularly to her, than it is poſſible for me to offer to your Highneſs, yet I humbly deſire you to believe I look upon your intereſts as one; and your Highneſs may be confident I will be honeſt, juſt and dutiful to you both. I ſubmit myſelf to your pleaſure, and whatever you determine, I will always continue with the humbleſt duty,

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,
Your Highneſs's moſt humble,
Moſt obedient,
And moſt faithful ſervant,
ROCHESTER.

New-park,
July 10, 1688.

The Prince of Orange gave orders that Lord Halifax ſhould not be truſted with the ſecret of the intended expedition. It is not likely that the ſpirit of diſſertation in the following letter from lord Halifax, was more than in his former letters, very pleaſing to a perſon, who always loved deeds more than words.

Letter from Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—Slow counſels.

July 25, 1688.

"SO many things have happened of late, that it is reaſonable enough to conclude, upon the firſt apprehenſion of them, that they ſhould produce great alterations in reference to the public; and yet with all this, upon a ſtrict obſervation of all circumſtances, I ſee nothing to raiſe more hopes on one ſide, or incline the other to deſpair. I find that every new attempt bringeth a freſh diſadvantage upon the great deſign, which is expoſed and diſappointed by ſo many repeated miſtakes; the world is ſo much confirmed, that there is every day leſs danger of being over-run; the ſeveral parties,

ties, though differing never ſo much in other things, ſeem to agree in their reſolution of preſerving, by all legal means, the ſecurity of their religion and their laws. The buſineſs concerning the biſhops, hath had ſuch an effect, that it is hardly to be imagined; the conſequences are not ſeen to their full extent by the men in power, tho' they are not a little mortified by the ill ſucceſs of it: I look upon it as that which hath brought all the Proteſtants together, and bound them up into a knot, that cannot eaſily be untied. It is one of thoſe kind of faults that can never be repaired: All that can be done to mend it will probably make it worſe, as is ſeen already by every ſtep that hath been ſince made to recover the reputation they have loſt by it. It is given out, that there will be yet ſome further proceedings againſt the biſhops; but in that I am an unbeliever, as well as concerning the meeting of parliament; my opinion being ſtill the ſame as I gave your Highneſs in my laſt, the continuance of the diſcourſe of it, and even by thoſe who are preſumed to know beſt, doth not at all make me alter my judgment. A parliament can never be an indifferent thing, and therefore it is a very weak argument to ſay that it will be tried, and if it doth not comply, it ſhall be diſſolved. Things of this kind are not to be ſo handled; the conſequences may be too great to make the experiment, without better grounds to expect ſucceſs than at preſent appear. In ſhort, I ſtill remain perſuaded that there is no effectual progreſs made towards the great deſign; and even the thing that party relieth upon, is ſubject to ſo many accidents and uncertainties, that according to human probability we are ſecure, notwithſtanding the ill appearances which fright moſt, when they are leaſt examined. I wiſh your Highneſs all happineſs, and to myſelf the continuance of your good opinion, which cannot be more valued by any man living, than it is by your moſt devoted ſervant."

Lord Nottingham to the Prince of Orange.——Inſinuates for a delay.——Sorry if he differs from others.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

"THE honour of being in your Highneſs's good opinion, and the continuance of your favour, of which you were pleaſed to aſſure me in your letter by Mr. Zuliſten, would make me undertake any taſk to render me worthy of it, if I could hope to perform it to your ſatisfaction; but to give your Highneſs a juſt account of affairs here not as news, but to judge rightly of them, is ſo very difficult that I muſt not pretend to it; nevertheleſs, in obedience to your commands, I have acquainted Mr. Zuliſten with my apprehenſions of ſome of the lateſt occurrences here, that he may humbly repreſent them to your Highneſs.

The birth of a Prince of Wales, and the deſigns of a further proſecution of the biſhops and of new modelling the army and calling of a parliament, are matters that afford various reflections. But I cannot apprehend from them ſuch ill conſequences to our religion, or the juſt intereſts of your Highneſs, that a little time will not effectually remedy, nor can I imagine that the Papiſts are able to make any further conſiderable progreſs; and the reaſons of this opinion, I have diſcourſed with Mr. Zuliſten, that I might not trouble your Highneſs with too long a letter; but if they ſhould not be ſatisfactory to your Highneſs, or ſhould differ from the ſentiments of others, I beſeech you not to miſconſtruct my opinion as proceeding from any want of zeal to the ſervice of your Highneſs, upon whom depends not only the welfare of this nation, but the fate of Europe too; for I ſhall always diſcharge my duty to you with the utmoſt fidelity, and have no greater ambition than to be your Highneſs's

London, July 27, 1688.

Moſt obedient,
and moſt humble ſervant,
NOTTINGHAM."

The

The following cant letter to the Prince, appears to me to be Ruſſel's hand.

Admiral Ruſſel to the Prince of Orange.

SIR,

"THE honour your Highneſs was pleaſed to do me by Monſieur Zuliſten, I can never enough acknowledge. I muſt beg your Highneſs to believe me a man ſo ſenſible of the favours you have been pleaſed to do me, that my life and fortune is abſolutely at your diſpoſal. It ſhall be my whole buſineſs and ſtudy, to render you all the ſervice I am capable of; and if my ſucceſs be not anſwerable to my intentions, be pleaſed to believe it proceeds from ill fortune, and not want of inclination. I hope your Highneſs finds your new viſitor (probably Admiral Herbert) anſwers the character you have had of him; the King is moſt extremely angry with him, and I have ſome reaſon to believe he diſappointed the court, they having ſome thoughts of making offers for him to take employments. Since I came into England, Mr. Roberts is grown ſo warm, that I can hardly prevail with him to ſtay for his being turned out. He is now reſolved not to talk of the Teſt, and Penal laws, nor indeed any thing they would have him do; I believe, he is at this time ſo ill at court, that his reign there will hardly laſt a month; he has deſired me to aſſure your Highneſs of his utmoſt ſervice. When Monſieur Dickfield went away, he writ to you, but you were pleaſed never to take any notice of it; if you think it convenient, a letter to him of your good opinion, relating to himſelf, would not be amiſs; but I ſubmit to your better judgment. You will hear by the bearer, all the news we have. When your Highneſs thinks the time proper for Mr. Roberts miſtreſs to know your thoughts, be pleaſed to let him tell it her, it will be better, in my humble opinion,

than by letter. The number of your friends here daily increaſe; but ſome perſons on your ſide the water, take ſuch liberty in writing news, and naming people, that, I fear, it may give the court occaſion to be angry with them, much to their prejudice, and not much to your ſervice. I will not trouble you longer on this ſubject, only beg you will pleaſe to believe me your Highneſs's moſt faithful, humble ſervant."

London, July 28, 1688.

Biſhop of London to the Prince of Orange.——in anſwer to a letter from the Prince concerning the ſeven Biſhops.

SIR,

" THE honour your Highneſs did me in laying the charge upon me, to communicate to my Lords the Biſhops, how much you were concerned in their behalf, had its juſt effect upon them, for they are highly ſenſible of the great advantage both they and the church have, by the firmneſs of ſo powerful a friend; and as I dare undertake, they ſhall never make an ill uſe of it, ſo I am very ſure they will entirely rely upon it on all juſt occaſions. I dare likewiſe take upon me to aſſure you, that both they that ſuffered, and the reſt who concurred with them, are ſo well ſatisfied of the juſtneſs of their cauſe, that they will lay down their lives, before they will in the leaſt depart from it.

I ſhould ſay ſomething of myſelf, but I had ſo lately an opportunity of making my mind known to you, that it can be to no purpoſe to ſay more now to you, than that I am under all the obligation in the world of approving myſelf, Sir, your Highneſs's moſt devoted, and faithful ſervant,

H. LONDON."

Lord

Lord Shrewſbury to the Prince of Orange.—Upon the departure of Zuliſten.—The Prince's friends increaſe.

London, July 28, 1688.

"MOnſieur Zuliſten, Sir, will go away ſo well inſtructed in all particulars relating to our affairs, that it would be but impertinence to add any thing to what he has learned from better hands: I hope he will repreſent them in ſuch a poſture as will not diſpleaſe your Highneſs. The papers you mention are preparing with all expedition. If the violence of my wiſhes do not deceive me, I flatter myſelf you never had more friends in England than now: may they increaſe till they are as numerous and as faithful as he wiſhes, that is, with all ſincerity and reſpect, Sir,

Your moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

SHREWSBURY."

Lord Churchill to the Prince of Orange.——A ſpirited letter.

SIR, Auguſt 4, 1688.

"MR. Sidney will let you know how I intend to behave myſelf: I think it is what I owe to God and my country. My honour I take leave to put into your Royal Highneſs's hands, in which I think it ſafe. If you think there is any thing elſe that I ought to do, you have but to command me, and I ſhall pay an entire obedience to it, being reſolved to die in that religion that it has pleaſed God to give you both the will and power to protect. I am, with all reſpect, Sir,

Your Royal Highneſs's obedient ſervant,

CHURCHILL."

While theſe intrigues were carrying on in England, the Prince, who was not daunted either with the variations in Lord Mordaunt's opinions, or the anxious, though friendly fears of Sidney, or the learned indolence of Hallifax, or the ſudden failure in the nerves of Lord Nottingham, kept on ſtraight forward and ſteady in his courſe.

The following letters will ſhew the arts by which the Prince of Orange impoſed upon the Pope to advance money for an attack, as he thought, upon France, but which was afterwards turned againſt England. Copies of the letters were given me by Mr. Lumeſden, a gentleman formerly in the ſervice of the Stuart family at Rome, the misfortunes of whoſe youth have loſt one of the moſt ingenious of his countrymen to Britain. He told me the originals were in the *Depot des Affaires etfangeres* at Paris. I am aſhamed to own I forgot to aſk for them when I was there.

Extrait de deux lettres ecrites par le Cardinal d'Eſtrées, Ambaſſadeur extraordinaire de Louis XIV, à la cour de Rome, touchantes la ligue d'Auſbourg.

A Monſieur de Louvois. Du 18 Decembre, 1687.

"LE 12 de Decembre, 1687, Le Petit * donna un memoire à la porte de St. Pierre au Gut, †, par laquelle il me donna avis, que celui qui va parler au Comte Caſſoni tous les jours deguiſé de la maniere que j'écrivis à ſa Majeſté le 15 de Novembre paſſé, etoit un Hollandois, mais qu'il ne ſcavoit pas ſon nom. Il ne faut pas douter que ce ne ſoit le Bourgemeſtre Ouir. J'en

* Commis de M. Caſſoni, Secretaire du Pape Innocent XI.

† C'etoit un gentilhomme de la chambre de Louis XIV, qui faiſoit l'eſpion à la cour de Rome.

J'en ay avertis le Gut du Roy. Vous apprendrez à ſa Majeſté que deſque ſon Gut fut aſſuré que Ouir etoit celui qui conferoit avec Caſſoni, il prit la reſolution, ſans me la communiquer, de s'aller flanquer avec ſes deux valets ‡ à dix pas de la porte d' Antonio Ferri, ou ce Bourgemeſtre logeoit, pour voir ſortir Ouir. En effet, environ l'heure de minuit il le vit tout à coup à la rue, qui fermoit la porte de Ferri, deguiſé en crocheteur qu'on appellent ici *fachino*. Il le ſuivit juſque à ce qu'il entra dans le Vatican, pour ſe rendre à l'apartement de Caſſoni. Le Gut ſe mit en ſentinelle avec ſes deux valets juſqu'a ce qu' Ouir ſortit du Vatican. Sur les trois heures apres minuit, le Gut avec le Gaſcon et le Breton ſes valets le ſuivoit de loin, et des qu'il commenca a entrer dans la Longara, le Breton qui s'étoit avancé lui ſauta deſſus. Le Gut y fut dabord avec le Gaſcon. Le Gut lui preſenta un poignard à la gorge, et lui dit, que s'il faiſoit la moindre mouvement il etoit mort, et qu'il le poignarderoit. Pendant que le Gut le regaloit de ce compliment, les deux valets lui fouillerent par tou en peu de tems, et oterent les lettres et les papiers qu'il avoit ſur lui. Des que le Gut du Roy eut les ecrits en ſa puiſſance il relacha Ouir, et s'en vint chez moi, ouvrit la porte de mon palais avec ſa clef, paſſa par l'eſcallier derober, fit avertir mon maiſtre d'hotel par un des mes valets: l'on me vint eveiller: je me levai en me mettant en robe de chambre. J'entrai dans mon cabinet, où je trouvai notre Gut trés content d'avoir fait le coup, que je viens de vous marquer. Je lui fis apporter à manger, car il mourit de faim; et il m'avoua qu'il y avoit 18 heures qu'il n'avoit pas mangé. Des qu'il eut ſoupé, il me remit les lettres qu'il avoit interceptées à Ouir. Nous ouvrimes le paquet, et nous vimes que les lettres de Caſſoni s' addreſſerent à l'Empereur & à Monſieur le Duc de Loraine.

Ce ſecretaire du Pape apprenoit au Duc de Loraine, que le Pape avoit receu une toute particuliere d'appren-

‡ L'un de ces valets du Gut s'appelloit le Gaſcon, l'autre le Breton.

dre que ſa Majeſté Imperiale avoit porté preſque tous les Princes d'Europe à ſe liguer contre le Roy de France: il lui marquoit, que ce que donnoit aſſez de peine au Saint Pere, etoit d'avoir apris que les Anglois etoient reſolus de detroner leur Roy, s'il ne prennoit une ferme reſolution de faire la guerre à la France, et d'abimer entierement la religion catholique, et de ſe joindre à la ligue d'Auſbourg.

Cependant Caſſoni diſoit, qu'un de ſes deſirs de ſa Sainteté etoit que l'une des premiers choſes que l'Empereur feroit, des que la guerre ſeroit declarée, ce ſeroit d'aſſieger toutes les places que la France avoit priſes à l'Electeur de Cologne pour en faire avoir la rejouiſſance à M. le Cardinal de Furſtemberg en cette qualité; quoique ſa Saintété ne l'ait jamais voulu avouer ni reconnoitre pour tel, mais encore la poſtulation: et que le Saint pontife etoit trés aiſe que M. le Prince d' Orange paſſat en Allemagne pour ſoutenir à la tête des deux armées les interets de l'Empereur et de ſa Sainteté contre ſe Cardinal de Furſtemberg et contre la France en même tems. Pour cette effet, le C. Caſſoni promet de la part du Pape d'envoyer à l'Empereur de groſſes ſommes d'argent, ſans en ſpecifier la quantité, pour la donner au Prince d'Orange, à fin que l'un et l'autre puiſſe continuer la guerre plus aiſement, contre le Roy trés chrétien.

Des que j'eus lu et relu tout ce beau projet, et dans les lettres de Caſſoni et dans les papiers qui furent pris à Ouir, nous y vimes les inſtructions que l'Empereur, le Duc de Loraine, et le Prince d'Orange avoient donné au bon Bourg-maiſtre, les quelles rouloient toutes ſur ce que je viens de vous ecrire, et que vous verrez dans les lettres du C. Caſſoni. Je vous le redis, nous fumes extremement ſurpris de voir que ſa Saintét venoit de conclure un traité avec l'Empereur contre le fils aîné de l'Egliſe, qui ne travaille qu'à ſoutenir ſes interets; et que ſa Saintété eut approuvé une ligue que ſe faiſoit par la plus part des Princes de l'Europe contre le Roy de France. Apres avoir un peu revé, je pris la reſolution

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de faire ſcavoir la ſubſtance de ces affaires à le Petit, avec ordre de faire ſon poſſible pour decouvrir ce que ſe paſſoit dans le cabinet de M. Caſſoni. Il m'apprit le 14, qu' avec beaucoup de peine il avoit trouvé dans les papiers de ce Secretaire du Pape dans une coin ſecret de ſon petit cabinet, ou il tient les papiers dont il ne s'eſt pas encore ſervi, que les Anglois ſont d'accorde avec le Prince d'Orange pour detroner le Roy Jaques II. et elever ſur le trone la Princeſſe d'Orange ſa fille, et par conſequent ſon mari Guillaume ; que les Anglois ſont auſſi reſolus d'oter la vie à leur Roy et au Prince de Galles, ſi la Reine accouchoit d'un fils, et que le Prince d'Orange ne doit pas aller en Allemagne commander les troupes de l'Empereur ; que ce n'eſt qu'une pure pretexe pour amuſer le Pape et les peuples, à fin qu'on n'ait aucun ſoupçon que ce Prince veuille s'elever ſur le trone d'Angleterre ; et que trés aſſurement le Saint Pere ne ſait rien de cette intrigue fatale contre le Roy Jaques IId, car on lui a fait ſeulement accroire que le Prince d'Orange doit paſſer en Allemagne. Le Petit ne doute point que cette affaire ne ſoit ainſi, puiſque les memoires qu'il a trouvé ne ſont pas au rang de ceux qui ont été veus et approuves du Pape ; et que de toute cette affaire il n'y avoit rien paru ſur la table de le Secretaire pour les faire cotter par numero, à fin de trouver d'abord ce que eſt neceſſaire au Secretaire du Pape, ſur ce qu'il a traité et arreté avec ſa Sainteté des qu'il en a beſoin ; qu' à preſent il ecrivoit et travailloit ſur tout ce que le Saint Pontif venoit de permettre à l'Empereur, au Duc de Loraine, et au Prince d'Orange, qui devoit aller en Allemagne commander les troupes de ſa Majeſté Imperiale, et que ce commandement ne ſera qu' une fable.

Des que j'eus appris l'attentat horrible qu'on veut faire ſur la tête du Roy Jaques, et ſur la Famille Royale, je fis avertir le jeune Milord Norfolk, qui etoit ici incognito comme vous ſcavez, pour tacher de decouvrir les intrigues du Vatican, qu'on craint qu'on ne trament contre ſon maitre : ce Milord a depeché inceſſament

deux

deux couriers à ſa Majeſté Britannique, l'un par terre, l'autre par mer, pour l'avertir de tout que je viens de vous dire.

Vouz ſcavez que la Hollande, les Electeurs, et l'Eſpagne ſe ſont declarés contre nous, Je crains fort que le Duc de Savoye ne nous faſſe auſſi la guerre; j'en ay quelque preſentiment par de certain diſcours que j'ay appris, que je ne vous ecris pas encore a cauſe que je ne ſuis pas encore aſſez bien eclairé : fais qu'on prenne guard de pres à lui.

Nos Cardinaux ſecrets ſont avertis du perſonage qu'ils doivent jouer. Le Petit eſt un habile homme, et le Gut l'eſt in ſuperlativo gradu. Ces deux perſonages ſont la cauſe de toute cette decouverte : car ce que nous en ſçavions auparavant etoit dans une grande incertitude. Le Gut qui ſoupa hier avec moi, m'a prié de vous prennez la peine de faire ſçavoir au Roy, qu'il n'abandonnera pas Ouir pour ſçavoir decouvrir tous les endroits de Rome qu'il pratiquera. Le Breton me rendit de la part de Gut ſon maitre un billet, par lequel il m'avertiſſoit qu' Ouir avoit levé Boutique en place Navone, ou il vendoit toutes ſortes des fleurs et des fruits artificiels, et de petites enfants de cire, et qu'il avoir un garçon Venetien qui travailloit à ces ouvrages marveilleuſement bien."

Le Cardinal d'Etrées au Roy. Du 29 Juin, 1688.

"ON eſt fort en peine dans le Vatican comme quoi votre Majeſté a pu ſçavoir ſitot le projet et tous les articles de la ligue d'Auſbourgh. L'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne en a été malade, et il en eſt encore tout troublé. Il cherche les moyens pour decouvrir ceux qui en ont donné avis à votre Majeſté.

Par la derniere lettre que j'écrivis a M. Louvois, je lui marquai l'action que le Gut de votre Majeſté fit au Barigelle

Barigelle et à toutes les troupes des Sbiris, au nombre de 50, des qu'il les entendoit s'approcher des endroits où il s'etoit mis pour voir qui entroit chez le Cardinal , qui eſt le conſeil de Caſſoni, Il commenca à appeller ſes deux valets le Breton et le Gaſçon, et leur fit crier——" Vive le Roy de France."—— Aprez il leur fit dire——" Arretez à la porte de la cour——Vive le grand Louis,——periſſent tous ſes ennemis."——Ces trois hommes obligerent le Barigelle et ſes 50 Sbiris à s'en fuir au plus vite, et ſe mettre à l'abbris ſous la garde du Pape, laquelle ſe mit toutes ſous les armes à la ſourdine ; et votre Gut eut le plaiſir de reſter dans un endroit d'où il pouvoit voir cette poultrone compagnie, qui ne ſortit du poſte qu'elle avoit pris, juſqu'à ce qu'il fut jour.

Le 24 du currant, le Petit etant allé a Notre Dame des Neiges, et le Gut en funcſtion, il lui remit une lettre par laquelle il l'aviſoit que Ouir devoit ſe rendre chez C. Caſſoni pour prendre des lettres, qui ſe trouvroient dans des fruits qu'il faiſoit ſemblant de lui vendre, et qu'il eut à prendre ſes meſures.

Le lendemain 25, votre Gut, Sire, ſans me rien communiquer de ſon deſſein, ne manqua pas de s'aller mettre en ſentinelle prés de la maiſon d'Ouir, de façon qu'on ne pouvoit pas le decouvrir. Il vit ſortir le Bourgemeſtre avec le boete pendue au col ; il le ſuivit juſqu'à ce qu'il fut entré chez M. Caſſoni ; dans ce moment il entenda ſonner onze heures. Ouir en ſortit à une heure et demie apres minuit. Le Gut s'habillat cette nuit en crocheteur avec ſes deux valets. Ces trois perſonages ſuivrent ce Bourgemeſtre. Des qu'il fût eloigné de mille pas du Vatican, ils virent qu'il prenait le long d'une petite rue. Des qu'il fût entré, ils avancerent le pas, l'attraperent, et lui ſauterent deſſus, lui preſentant le poignard à la gorge. Des que Ouir fût à leur diſcretion, le Gut le fouilla et ne lui trouva rien, ce que l'obligea à lui oter ſa boete pleine des fruits artificiels. Il la donna à Breton qui me l'apporta. J'attendois, Sire, avec impatience votre Gut, à cauſe qu'il

qu'il m'avoit envoyé dire qu'il viendroit souper avec moi, mais qu'il seroit tard. Je me doutai alors qui'il s'agissoit de quelque entrepriſe pour votre ſervice que je ne pouvois pas diviner. Son valet entrant dans ma chambre, il me remit la boëte que le Gut avoit oté a Ouir. Elle ne fût pas plutot ouverte que de ma vie je n'ai rien vu de mieux travaille: j'admirai ces fruits un peu de tems, et je les rangai ſur ma table: des que j'en achevai, j'entendis votre Gut qui ouvroit la porte, de derriere de mon cabinet, ce que m'obligea d'y entrer, et il m'apprit, que après avoir oté la boete à Ouir il le conduiſoit juſqu' à 10 pas de ſa porte; et re fût en cet endroit qu'il lui dit, qu'il le ſuivit depuis le tems qu'il etoit à Rome, et c'etoit la Signora Hortenſia qui lui avoit fait enlever ſes lettres et ſes papiers il y avoit quelque tems, et que c'etoit elle auſſi qui lui avoit fait fait enlever ſa boëte, et que ſi pourtant le jour qui etoit pret d'arriver il ne ſortat pas de Rome, elle le feroit jetter dans le Tibre.

Aprés que le Gut m'eut appris ſon adventure, et qu'il avoit toujours parle Hollandois au Bourgemeſtre, il voulut ſouper, ce qu' etant fait, il m'a demandé ce que je voulois faire de la merchandiſe d'Ouir. Je lui repondis, que je la trouvois ſi belle que je la deſtinois pour votre Majeſté. Le Gut me repliqua qu'il la vouloit toute ouvrir, et en même tems il la fit apporter par mon maitre d'hotel qui nous avoit ſervi, et il rompit tous les fruits en ma preſence. Ill n'eut pas plutot fait ce coup, que j'avouai qu'il avoit raiſon; puiſque nous trouvames tout autour de ces fruits des fils d'archal ſous des ſoyes verts qui les environoient, et qui entroient dans les citrons, les pommes, les figues et les raiſins, avec des petites banderolles de papier ecrit en chiffres. Le Gut les prit et les rangait ſelon leur numero et les dechiffra, et nous y trouvames les projets et les bonnes intentions que M. le Duc de Savoye a pour la ruine de vos états.

Le deſſein de cette alteſſe n'eſt pas de prendre ouvertement la part de vos ennemis, comme vous le verres; et je crois que ſi votre Majeſté faiſoit menager ce Prince, elle

elle pourroit l'obliger à ſe tourner du coté de la France, ou de reſter neutre. La ſuite des lettres de Caſſoni nous apprit les forces que l'Empereur, l'Angleterre et la Hollande doivent mettre ſur pied contre vous, Sire, et les ſoucours que l'Empereur et le roy d'Eſpagne doivent donner an Duc de Savoye lorſqu'il en ſera tems. Le nombre des Barbotes et nouveaux convertis, ſelon leur ſupputation, ira a plus de 100 mille hommes, qui ſont le nombre de ceux qui ſont ſortis des vos étas; et tous les autres generallement qui ſont reſtés dans le royaume doivent prendre les armes contre votre Majeſté, des que la trompette de vos ennemis ſonnera. Votre Majeſté doit connoitre par là combien le miniſtre du Pape lui fait entendre des chimeres. puiſque à l'heure que j'ai l'honneur de vous ecrire, ſa Sainteté croit la France perdue par le moyen de toutes les fables que le comte de Caſſoni lui a debité.

Votre Majeſté recevra donc dans ce paquet toutes les banderolles qui etoient dans les fruits d'Ouir, avec une lettre du Gut, pour vous marquer, Sire, de quelle maniere il les faut ranger. Vous verres auſſi le ſoin avec lequel Ouir et Caſſoni les avoient accommodé, pour donner à vos ennemis le moyen de les lire ſans peine. Aprés que le Gut eut achevé ſa lettre, il me pria d'aſſurer votre Majeſté que ſi elle veut faire tenir deux de ſes galleres à Civita Vecchia, il s'oblige, à peine d'avoir le col coupé d'enlever Caſſoni au milieu de Rome, ou dans ſa chambre, pourveu qu'elle le veuille et qu'elle lui donne 20 gentilſhommes et autant de guardes marines, et promet qu'il aura plutot fait embarquer Caſſoni dans une de ces galleres et conduira à Marſeilles ou à Toulon, ou en autre endroit qu'el le voudra, qu'on ne ſcache dans Rome ce que ce ſecretaire ſera devenu. Il me dit encore, que s'il oſoit, il vous feroit bien, Sire, l'offre que M. de Lyonne vous fit autrefois, de venir à Rome poignarder Dom Mario frere du Pape Alexandre VIIth, aprés l'attentat que les Corſes commirent ſur la perſonne de Madame l'Ambaſſadrice de Crequi dans ſa caroſſe: mais ſçachant que votre Majeſté abhorre le ſang, il ſe contente

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de vous offrir au peril de ſa vie de mener en tel lieu qu'il vous plaira le comte Caſſoni lié et garotté, pour lui faire payer par ſa detention la follie en chere de mauvais conſeils qu'il a donné. Ouir n'a plus paru dans Rome depuit le 26me. La pretendue boutique eſt fermée, ainſi ou il s'eſt caché ou il eſt parti."

Tranſlation.

Extract of two letters written by Cardinal d'Eſtrees, ambaſſador extraordinary from Louis the XIVth, to the court of Rome, concerning the league of Augſbourg:—Intrigues of the Emperor, Pope, and Prince of Orange, previous to the revolution.

To Mr. de Louvois. December 18, 1687.

"THE 12th of December, 1687, *le Petit* * gave a note, at the gate of St. Peter, to Gut†, by which he aviſed me, that the perſon who went every day diſguiſed to Caſſoni in the manner I wrote your Majeſty the 15th of November paſt, was a Dutchman, but he did not know his name. There is no doubt of his being the Burgomaſter Ouir. I informed *le Gut* of it. You will inform his Majeſty that as ſoon as le *Gut* was certain that *Ouir* was the perſon who conferred with Caſſoni, he took the reſolution, without communicating it to me, to place himſelf with his two valets ‡ at ten paces from Antonio Ferri's door, where this Burgomaſter lodged, to ſee Ouir come out. About midnight he ſaw him all at once in the ſtreet, ſhutting Ferri's door, diſguiſed as a porter, which they call here *fachino*. He followed him till he entered the Vatican, to go to Caſſoni's apartment. Le Gut with his two valets placed themſelves as centinels till they ſaw Ouir come out of the Vatican. About three in the morning, le Gut with le Gaſcon and le Breton followed him at a

* Clerk to M. Caſſoni, ſecretary to Pope Innocent the eleventh

† He was a gentleman of the bed-chamber to Louis the XIVth, and acted as a ſpy at the court of Rome.

‡ One of theſe ſervants of le Gut was called le Gaſcon, the other le Breton.

diſtance,

diſtance, and as ſoon as they ſaw him enter into la Longara, le Breton who was foremoſt leaped upon him. Le Gut and le Gaſcon came up immediately. Le Gut preſented a dagger to his throat, and told him, that if he made the leaſt motion he was a dead man, for he would ſtab him. Whilſt le Gut regaled him with this compliment, the two valets ſearched him from head to foot in a little time, and took all the letters and papers he had about him. As ſoon as le Gut had the writings in his poſſeſſion, he releaſed Ouir. He came to me, opened the door of my palace with his key, went up the back ſtairs, and gave notice to my maitre d' hotel by one of my valets: They waked me; I got up and put on my night-gown. I went into my cloſet, where I found Gut very well pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his attempt, which I have juſt told you of. I ordered him ſome victuals, for he was almoſt famiſhed. He declared to me that he had not eat for 18 hours. As ſoon as he had ſupped, he gave me the letters he had intercepted upon Ouir. We opened the paquet, and ſaw that Caſſoni's letters were directed to the Emperor and the Duke of Lorrain.

The ſecretary to the Pope informed the Duke of Lorrain, that his Holineſs had received a particular joy upon learning that his Imperial Majeſty had brought almoſt all the Princes of Europe to league themſelves againſt the King of France. he remarked to him, that what gave the holy Father a good deal of pain was, to hear that the Engliſh were reſolved to dethrone their King, if he would not take a firm reſolution to make war againſt France, aboliſh the catholic religion entirely, and join himſelf to the league of Augſbourg.

However Caſſoni ſaid, that one of the firſt things his Holineſs wiſhes the Emperor to do, after the war is declared, is to lay ſiege to all the places which France has taken from the Elector of Cologn with a deſign to give the poſſeſſion of them to cardinal Furſtemberg in the quality of Elector, though his Holineſs would never own nor acknowledge him as ſuch, nor yet confirm the poſtulation;

lation; and that the holy Pontiff was very glad that the Prince of Orange was to go into Germany to ſuſtain at the head of two armies the intereſts of the Emperor and his Holineſs againſt Cardinal Furſtemberg, and France at the ſame time. To effect this, Count Caſſoni promiſes on the Pope's part to ſend the Emperor large ſums of money, without ſpecifying the quantity, to be given to the Prince of Orange, to the end that they may both continue the war more eaſily againſt the moſt Chriſtian King.

Upon reading over and over this fine project both in Caſſoni's letters, and the papers taken from Ouir, we there ſaw the inſtructions which the Emperor, the Duke of Lorrain, and the Prince of Orange had given to the worthy Burgomaſter, the whole of which turned upon what I have juſt wrote you, and you will ſee in Count Caſſoni's letters. I repeat it, we were extremely ſurpriſed to ſee that his Holineſs had juſt concluded a treaty with the Emperor againſt the eldeſt ſon of the church, who only ſought to maintain his own intereſts, and that his Holineſs had approved of a league made by the greater part of the Princes of Europe againſt the King of France. After having conſidered a little, I took a reſolution to make known the ſubſtance of theſe matters to le Petit, with orders to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to diſcover what paſſed in the cabinet of Mr. Caſſoni. He informed me on the 14th, that with a great deal of trouble he had found amongſt the papers of his ſecretary to the pope, in a ſecret corner of his ſmall cabinet, where he kept the papers which he had not yet uſed, that the Engliſh had agreed with the Prince of Orange to dethrone King James the Second, and place the Princeſs of Orange his daughter upon the throne, and conſequently her huſband William; that the Engliſh were alſo reſolved to take away the life of their King and of the Prince of Wales, if the Queen was brought to bed of a ſon; and that the Prince of Orange was not to go into Germany to command the Emperor's troops; that it was only a mere pretence to amuſe the Pope and the public,

public, in order that they might have no ſuſpicion of this Prince's wanting to raiſe himſelf to the throne of England; and that for certain the holy Father knew nothing of this fatal intrigue againſt King James the ſecond, for he had been only made to believe that the Prince of Orange was to go to Germany. Le Petit makes no doubt that the matter ſtands ſo, ſince the memorials that he found are not ranged with thoſe which the Pope had ſeen and approved; and that of all this affair nothing appeared upon the ſecretary's table to refer to them according to their endorſements, which is neceſſary for the Pope's ſecretary, that he may directly find thoſe articles which he has treated and finiſhed with his Holineſs as ſoon as he wants them: that at preſent he is writing and working on what the holy Pontiff has juſt promiſed to the Emperor, the Duke of Lorrain, and the Prince of Orange, who was to go into Germany to command his Imperial Majeſty's troops; but that this command was only a fable.

As ſoon as I learnt the horrible attempt that was intended againſt King James and the Royal Family, I informed the young Lord Northfolk of it, who was here incognito, as you know, to endeavour to diſcover the intrigues of the Vatican, which it was to be feared were forming againſt his maſter: my lord immediately diſpatched two couriers to his Britannick Majeſty, one by land, the other by ſea, to inform him of all I have told you.

You know that Holland, the Electors, and Spain have declared againſt us. I fear alſo that the Duke of Savoy will alſo make war upon us. I have ſome foreſight of it, from certain diſcourſes which I don't yet write you, becauſe I am not yet ſufficiently informed: He ſhould be watched very narrowly.

Our confidential cardinals are informed of the part they are to play. Le Petit is an able man, and le Gut is ſo in the ſuperlative degree. Theſe two perſons are the cauſe of all this diſcovery; for what we knew be-

fore was extremely uncertain. Le Gut, who supped with me yesterday, has desired me to write to you to beg you will take the trouble to let his Majesty know that he will not quit Ouir, till he discovers and knows all the places in Rome he frequents. Le Breton gave me, on the part of his master le Gut, a note by which he informs me that Ouir had opened a shop in the place Navone, where he sold all sorts of artificial flowers and fruits, and little wax images; and that he had a Venetian boy who worked wonderfully well at this sort of business."

Cardinal d' Etrees to Louis the XIVth. June 29, 1688.

"THEY are in much pain in the Vatican to know how your Majesty could so soon be acquainted with the project and all the articles of the league of Augsbourg. The Spanish Ambassador has been sick upon it, and is yet much disordered. He tries every means to discover those who have given your Majesty the information.

By the last letter I wrote to Monsieur Louvois, I informed him of the action which your Majesty's le Gut did to the captain of the town-guard and all his troop of Sbiri to the number of 50. As soon as he heard them approach the place where he had placed himself to see who went to Cardinal who is Cassoni's adviser, he began by calling his two valets, le Breton and le Gascon, and made them cry out,—"Long live the King of France."——After that he made them say, —"Stop at the gate of the court.—Long live Great Louis—may all his enemies perish."——These three men obliged the captain and his 50 Sbiri to fly in the greatest haste, and to take shelter with the Pope's guard, who put themselves under arms as fast as they could; and your Gut had the pleasure to remain in a place from whence he could see this rascally company, who

who did not leave the poſt they had taken, till day-light.

The 24th inſtant, le Petit being gone to Notre Dame des Neiges, and le Gut being upon duty, he gave him a letter by which he adviſed him that Ouir was to be with Caſſoni to take his letters, which would be found in the fruits which he pretended to go to ſell him, and left him to take his meaſures.

Next day, the 25th, your le Gut, Sire, without communicating to me his deſign, did not fail to go and place himſelf as a centinel near to Ouir's houſe, in ſuch a manner that he could not be diſcovered. He ſaw the burgomaſter go with his baſket hanging about his neck. He followed him till he went into Mr. Caſſoni's: at this moment he heard the clock ſtrike eleven. Ouir came out an hour and an half after midnight. Le Gut dreſſed himſelf this night as a porter, with his two ſervants: Theſe three perſonages followed the burgomaſter. As ſoon as he was about a thouſand paces from the vatican, they ſaw he took his way along a ſmall ſtreet; as ſoon as he was entered they mended their pace, overtook him and ſeized him, preſenting a dagger to his throat. As ſoon as Ouir was at their diſcretion, le Gut rummaged him, but found nothing on him: this obliged him to take away his baſket full of artificial fruits: He gave it to le Breton, who brought it to me. I waited, Sire, with impatience for your le Gut, becauſe he had ſent me word he would come and ſup with me, but that it would be late. I then thought that he was about ſome enterprize for your ſervice, which I could not divine. His valet entering my room, gave me the baſket that le Gut had taken from Ouir. It was no ſooner opened than in my life I never ſaw any thing better executed. I admired the fruits a little while, and then ranged them upon my table. As ſoon as I had finiſhed, I heard your le Gut, who opened the back door of my cloſet, which obliged me to go into it; and he informed me, that after having taken the baſket from Ouir, he conducted him to about ten paces from his door, and on that ſpot

told him, that he had followed him ever ſince he had been at Rome, and that it was Signora Hortenſia who was the cauſe of his letters and papers being taken from him ſome time ago, and it was ſhe alſo who had occaſioned the loſs of his baſket; and if during the courſe of next day he did not quit Rome, ſhe would cauſe him to be thrown into the Tiber.

After le Gut had acquainted me with his adventure, and that he had always ſpoken low Dutch to the burgomaſter, he aſked for ſupper, which being finiſhed, he aſked me what I would do with Ouir's merchandize. I told him I thought it ſo fine that I deſigned it for your Majeſty. Le Gut replied that he would open the whole, and in the mean time made my maitre d'hotel, who waited on us, bring them. He broke all the fruits in my preſence, which he had no ſooner done, than I owned he had reaſon. We found all round theſe fruits braſs wires under green ſilk that covered them, and which were ſtruck into the lemons, figs and grapes, with little flags of paper writ in cypher. Le Gut took and ranged them according to their number, and decyphered them, and there were found the ſchemes and good intentions of the Duke of Savoy for the ruin of your dominions.

The deſign of his Highneſs is not openly to take part with your enemies, as you will ſee: and I think if your Majeſty deals properly with this Prince, you may oblige him to turn to the ſide of France, or remain neuter. The ſeries of Caſſoni's letters ſhows the forces which the Emperor, England, and Holland are to employ againſt you, Sire; and the aſſiſtance the Emperor and the King of Spain are to give to the Duke of Savoy when it ſhall be neceſſary. The number of Barbotes and new converts, according to their computation, will amount to more than one hundred thouſand men, which is the number of thoſe who are gone out of your dominions; and all the others in general who remain in the kingdom, are to take arms againſt your Majeſty as ſoon as the trumpet of your enemies ſounds. Your Majeſty may know by this how much the Pope's miniſter amuſes

him

him with chimeras, ſince at this hour that I have the honour to write to you, his Holineſs believes France ruined, by means of all the fables which Count Caſſoni has entertained him with.

Your Majeſty will receive then in this pacquet all the flags which were in Ouir's fruits, with a letter from le Gut, to ſhew you, Sire, in what manner to range them. You will alſo ſee the care with which Ouir and Caſſoni have adjuſted them, to give your enemies the means of reading them without trouble. After le Gut had finiſhed his letter, he begged me to aſſure your Majeſty, that if you will keep two of your gallies at Civita Vecchia, he obliges himſelf under penalty of loſing his head, to carry off Caſſoni from the midſt of Rome, or from his chamber, provided your Majeſty deſires it, and will let him have twenty gentlemen and as many guardes marines; and promiſes he will get Caſſoni put aboard one of the galleys, and conduct him to Marſeilles or Toulon, or any other place you pleaſe, before any one in Rome knows what is become of this ſecretary. He farther ſaid to me, that if he dared, he would make the offer, Sire, which Mr. de Lyonne formerly made, of going to Rome to ſtab Don Mario, brother to Pope Alexander the ſeventh, after the attempt that the Corſicans made upon the perſon of madam the Ambaſſadreſs de Crequi in her coach; but knowing how much your Majeſty abhors bloodſhed, he contents himſelf with offering, at the peril of his life, to bring the Count Caſſoni to what place you pleaſe bound and gagged, to make him pay, by his confinement, for the folly of the bad councils he has given. Ouir has not appeared in Rome ſince the 26th; the pretended ſhop is ſhut; ſo that he is either in hiding or gone."

The credit given in the firſt of theſe letters to a wild ſtory of a concert in England to murder the King and his ſon, if he ſhould have one, is a ſtrong inſtance of the miſtakes of foreigners, with regard to the character

of a people, who, becauſe they are more high-ſpirited, are therefore more honourable in their reſentments, than the reſt of mankind: Yet perhaps theſe letters may account for the ridiculous fear which James was under at the revolution, for his own life and that of his ſon. The letters are probably right with regard to the intentions of the Prince of Orange to mount the throne of England. In King William's box there is a letter to him from the Elector of Brandenburg, from which there is reaſon to conjecture, that at his interview with the Elector at Minden, a few months before he ſailed for England, ſuch an object had not been altogether out of ſight.

The Elector of Brandenburg to King William.

Monſiegneur, mon trés honoré couſin et frere,

" JE ne puis exprimer la grandeur de ma joye que me cauſe l'accompliſſement des ſouhaits que j'ay fait depuis quelques années, et particulierement il y a ſix mois à Minden, pour votre elevation au trone d'Angleterre, qui vous eſt du egalement et par le ſang, et par le bien-fait que l'Angleterre et touts les Proteſtans enſemble, mêſme toute l'Europe, reçoivent par votre moyen. J'en viens feliciter votre Alteſſe de toute mon ame, et ſouhaite que le grand Dieu qui l'a mis miraculeuſement ſur ce trone, lui conſerve longues années, et y adjoute le bonheur d'une heureuſe lignée. Je me promets cependant de mon coſte auprés de votre Alteſſe, les mêmes ſentiments de bonté et tendreſſe qu'elle a tousjours eu pour moy, qui ſerai à jamais, Monſeigneur, mon trés honoré couſin et frere,

De votre Alteſſe le trés humble,

De Berline, Et trés devoué ſerviteur,

27 Fev. 1689. FREDRICK ELECTOR."

Tranſlation.

Tranſlation.

The Elector of Brandenburg to King William.—Mentions the wiſhes he had formed at the interview at Minden for his elevation to the throne.

My Lord, my moſt honoured couſin and brother,

"I CANNOT expreſs the greatneſs of the joy cauſed in me, by the completion of the wiſhes which ſome years ago I had formed, and particularly ſix months ago at Minden, for your elevation to the throne of England, which is due to you equally by blood, and by the advantage which England, and all the proteſtants together, even all Europe, receives by your means. I felicitate your Majeſty with all my ſoul, and wiſh that the great God, who has miraculouſly put you on this throne, may preſerve long years to you, and add to them the good fortune of an happy iſſue. In the mean time I promiſe myſelf on my ſide from your Majeſty, the ſame ſentiments of goodneſs and tenderneſs which you have always had for me, who ſhall be for ever, my dear and moſt honoured couſin and brother,

Your Highneſs's moſt humble,

Berlin, And moſt devoted ſervant,

27th Feb. 1689. FREDRICK ELECTOR."

But if the Prince of Orange in coming to England had really the intention of mounting the throne, he deceived the Emperor as well as the Pope. In his box there is a copy of the following letter from him to the Emperor a ſhort time before he ſailed.

The Prince of Orange to the Emperor.

SIRE,

" JE n'ay pu n'y voulu manquer de donner avis á votre Majeſté Imperiale, que les meſintelligences, qui ſont depuis quelque tems entre le Roi de la Grande Bretagne et ſes ſujets, ſont venues à des extremitez ſi grandes, qu'étant ſur le point d'eclatter par une rupture formelle, elles m'ont obligé de me reſoudre à paſſer le mer, a cauſe des inſtances vives et reiterées qui m'en ont éte faites par pluſieurs pairs et autres perſonnes conſiderables du royaume, tant eccleſiaſtiques que ſeculiers. J'ay cru fort néceſſaire d'y mener quelques troupes d'infanterie et de cavaliere, à fin de n'être point expoſé aux inſultes de ceux qui par leurs mauvais conſeils, et par les violences qui s'en ſont enſuivies, ont donné lieu à ces meſintelligences extremes. J'ay voulu, Sire, aſſurer par cette lettre votre Majeſté Imperiale que quelques bruits que l'on puiſſe avoir deja ſemez, et non-obſtant ceux que l'on pourra faire courir à l'avenir, je n'ay pas la moindre intention de faire aucun tort à ſa Majeſte Britannique, n'y à ceux qui ont droit de pretendre à la ſucceſſion de ſes royaumes, et encore moins d'empieter moy même ſur la couronne, oû de vouloir me l'aproprier.

Je n'ay non plus aucun deſſein d'extirper les Catholiques Romains, mais ſeulement d'employer mes ſoins pour tacher de faire redreſſer les deſordres et les irregularités, qu'on a fait contre les lois de ces royaumes par les mauvais conſeils des mal-intentionnez.

Je tacheray auſſi de procurer, que dans un parlement legitimement aſſemblé et compoſé de perſonnes deüement qualifiées ſelon les lois de la nation, les affaires ſoient reglées d'une telle maniere que la religion proteſtante, avec les libertes et les droits du clergé, de la nobleſſe, et du peuple ſoient mis dans une entiere ſureté ; par ce moyen ſeulement il y a lieu d'eſperer qu'il s'enſuivra une bonne union et une ſincere confiance entre le Roy et ſes ſujets, à fin d'étre en état de pouvoir contribuer puiſſement au bien publique. J'ajoute que dans le

deſſein

deſſein que j'ay de tacher auſſi de prevenir le continuation de ces meſintelligences, et d'affermir une ſi bonne union ſur des fondemens ſolides, je dois prier votre Majeſté Imperiale de s'aſſurer, que j'employeray tout mon credit pour moyenner que les Catholiques Romains de ce pays lé jouiſſe de la liberté de conſcience, et ſoient mis hors de toute inquietudé d'étre perſecutéz é cauſe de leur religion; et que pourveu quils en faſſent l'exerciſe ſans bruit et avec modeſtie, ils ne ſoient point ſujets é aucuns punitiez.

J'ay eu de toute tems une trés grande averſion pour toute ſorte de perſecution en matiere de religion parmi les Chrétiens.

Je prie Dieu qui eſt le tout puiſſant, de vouloir benir cette mienne ſincere intention, et j'oſe me promettre qu'elle ne deplaira pas é votre Majeſté Imperiale.

Je prie auſſi Dieu de la vouloir combler de ſes meilleurs benedictions. Je ſuis avec toute ſorte de reſpect."

Tranſlation.

The Prince of Orange to the Emperor.—Aſſures him, that in his expedition to England, he has no intention to dethrone King James, or to injure the Roman Catholics.

SIR,

"I Could not fail to give information to your Imperial Majeſty, that the miſunderſtandings which have ſubſiſted for ſome time between the King of Great Britain and his ſubjects are come to ſo great extremities, that being upon the point of breaking out into a formal rupture, they have obliged me to paſs the ſea, on account of the lively and reiterated inſtances which have been made to me by many Peers and other conſiderable perſons of the kingdom, as well eccleſiaſtical as ſecular. I think it neceſſary to carry ſome troops of infantry and cavalry there, that I may not be expoſed to the inſults of thoſe, who, by their bad counſels, and by the violences which followed them, have given occaſion to theſe extreme

extreme miſunderſtandings. I aſſure your Imperial Majeſty by this letter, that whatever reports may have been ſpread, and notwithſtanding thoſe which may be ſpread for the future, I have not the leaſt intention to do any hurt to his Britannic Majeſty, or to thoſe who have a right to pretend to the ſucceſſion of his kingdoms, and ſtill leſs to make an attempt upon the crown, or to deſire to appropriate it to myſelf.

Neither have I any deſire to extirpate the Roman Catholics, but only to employ my cares to endeavour to redreſs the diſorders and irregularities which have been committed againſt the laws of thoſe kingdoms by the bad councils of the ill intentioned.

I will alſo endeavour in a parliament lawfully aſſembled, and compoſed of perſons duly qualified according to the laws of the nation, to procure the regulation of affairs in ſuch a manner, that the proteſtant religion, with the liberties and rights of the clergy, nobility, and people, may be put in entire ſecurity. By this means alone there is place to hope, that there will follow a good union and ſincere confidence between the King and his ſubjects, that they may be in a condition of being able to contribute powerfully to the common good. I muſt add, that in the deſign which I have of endeavouring to prevent the continuation of theſe miſunderſtandings, and to ſtrengthen ſo good an union upon ſolid foundations, I ought to intreat your Imperial Majeſty to be aſſured, that I will employ all my credit to provide, that the Roman Catholics of that country may enjoy liberty of conſcience, and be put out of fear of being perſecuted on account of their religion; and provided they exerciſe their religion without noiſe, and with modeſty, that they ſhall not be ſubject to any puniſhment.

I have at all times had a great averſion to all ſort of perſecution upon religious matters among Chriſtians.

I pray God, who is powerful over all, to bleſs this my ſincere intention, and I dare promiſe that it will not diſpleaſe your Majeſty.

I pray

I pray God alſo, that he may cover you with his beſt bleſſing. I am with all ſort of reſpect."

The common vindication of the intrigues of King James's ſubjects againſt him is, that the Revolution was a meaſure of expediency in the then ſtate of things. But there are facts in Barillon's diſpatches ſufficient to juſtify it as a matter of abſolute neceſſity. An Engliſh reader may not be ſurpriſed to hear, that King James had reſolved to make void the act of ſettlement in Ireland, in order to have it in his power to make uſe of Iriſh Catholics for the eſtabliſhment of his authority in England. But he will be aſtoniſhed to learn a fact hitherto unknown and unſuſpected, that towards the end of the reign of King James, there were in England three Popiſh regiments regularly paid by France.

Lord Tyrconnel was the perſon who firſt ſuggeſted this project, and connected it with another equally pleaſing to the King, to wit, that the Britiſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice ſhould be recalled from that ſervice. The ſecrets of theſe things are to be found in the following diſpatches.

Extraite d'une lettre de M. Barillon au Roy. 1687, *Oct.* 13.

"J'AI été averti par Milord Sonderland que le Roy ſon maitre devoit me parler d'une affaire de conſequence, et qu'il m'expliqueroit de quoi il eſt queſtion à fin que je fuſſe preparé quand ſa Majeſté Britannique me le communiqueroit. In the *Depot.*

Le fait eſt que le Roy d'Angleterre eſt réſolu de retirer les troupes de ſes ſujets qui ſont au ſervice des Etats Generaux: il s'attend bien qu'il demeurera un grand nombre d'officiers et de ſoldats en Hollande, mais auſſi une bonne partie pourra revenir icy, et principalement les Catholiques, et tous ceux qui ne ſont pas entierement gagnés par M. le Prince d'Orange: quelqu' envie

que

que ſa Majeſté Britannique ait de rappeller ces troupes, il lui eſt difficile de le faire ſans avoir un moyen facile de faire ſubſiſter ceux qui ſeront rappellés, et de les conſerver enſemble dans un même corps. L'expedient d'augmenter les nombres des troupes qui ſont ſur pied icy ſeroit le plus naturel, mais il y en a deja un auſſi grand nombre que le Roy d'Angletterre ne peut entretenir : ſa penſée donc eſt de propoſer à votre Majeſté de prendre à ſon ſervice un régiment d'infanterie compoſé d'officiers et des ſoldats qui ſeront rappelée de Hollande ; ce régiment ſeroit entierement dans la diſpoſition de votre Majeſté, ſuppoſant cependant que quand le Roy d'Angleterre en auroit beſoin dans ſon pays, votre Majeſté ne refuſeroit pas de le renvoyer.

Les raiſons qui obligent ce Prince à faire cette propoſition ſont, que par ce moyen il y auroit un nouveau corps ſur pied qui ſe maintiendroit mieux, et ſeroit mieux diſcipliné, que ceux qui ſont en ce pays cy ; que ſe ſeroit une pepeniere pour élever et former des ſoldats catholiques, qui ne ſeront pas informes des maximes dangereuſes pour la royauté repandues par toute l'Angleterre, et dont méme les Catholiques ne ſont par toute é fait exempts ; que ſans cela il lui ſera difficile de rappeller ſitot les troupes qui ſont en Hollande, ne pouvant pas aiſement les faire ſubſiſter enſemble, quoiqu'il connoiſſe combien il lui eſt de conſequences de ne pas laiſſer plus longtems ſubſiſter un corps de troupes de ſes ſujets, dont le plus grand nombre n'eſt pas dans ſes intéreſts, et ſeroit contre lui ſi l'occaſion s'en preſentoit.

Milord Sonderland m'ayant expliqué cela m'a dit, qu'il jugeoit bien que cette affaire n'étoit épas aiſé à obtenir de votre Majeſté ; que dans un tems de paix votre Majeſté ; ne ſongeroit pas facilement à prendre un corps de troupes etrangeres, dont la dépenſe excedera celle d'un pareil nombre de ſes ſujets ; qu'on ſavoit bien ce qui étoit arrivé il y a quelques années ſur le ſujet des troupes Angloiſes et qui etoient en France ; et que votre Majeſté étoit peutétre dégoutée pour tojours d'en prendre ſon ſervice, et de faire une depenſe extraordinaire

naire pour laqu'elle on ne voit pas de raiſons aſſez fortes pour y engager votre Majeſté preſentement ; que cependant en conſiderant l'état des affaires d'Angleterre en particulier, et celles de l'Europe en general, votre Majeſté jugera peutêtre que la propoſition qui lui eſt faite doit être admiſe, premiérement parceque c'eſt une choſe extrémement importante pour le bien de la religion catholique, à l'avantage de laqu'elle principalement ce régiment ſeroit levé et ſubſiſteroit ; qu'en cela votre Majeſté obligeroit ſenſiblement le Roy ſon maitre, et lui donneroit une marque d'amitie effective et ſolide dans un tems ou il peut de ſon côté donner des marques a votre Majeſté de ſon attachement à ſes intéreſts ; que la propoſition qui eſt faite, marque une reſolution determinée de la part du Roy d'Angleterre de conſerver une liaiſon étroite avec votre Majeſté, et que cela même rendra cette liaiſon publique, et peut produire des effets qui ne ſeront pas inutiles au ſervice de votre Majeſté, que ce ſera un deplaiſir mortel pour M. le Prince d'Orange de voir paſſer au ſervice de votre Majeſté des troupes rappellées d'Hollande ; que les Etats Generaux prendroit même de là de nouveaux ſujets de jalouſie contre le Roy d'Angleterre, et connoitront qu'il eſt fort eloigné d'entrer en aucune liaiſon ni concert avec eux ; que le maiſon d'Autriche croira par là qu'il y a entre votre Majeſté et le Roy d'Angleterre une liaiſon encore plus etroite et plus établie quelle n'eſt, et que cela ne peut qu' étre utile dans la conjoncture préſente ; qu'en fin, ce régiment étant à votre ſervice doit étre regardé comme un gage d' une confiance entiére de la part du Roy ſon maitre ; et que c'eſt un commencement pour venir dans la ſuite à toute ce que votre Majeſté pourra juger étre convenable à ſes intereſts.

J'ai dit à milord Sonderland, que je ne pouvois lui rien repondre de mon chef ſur une choſe nouvelle et de ſi grand conſequence ; que je lui dirois que je la croiois fort difficile ; et que lui méme connoiſſoit les raiſons qui pouvoient empécher votre Majeſté de prendre des

troupes

troupes étrangeres à ſon ſervice dans un tems au quel votre Majeſté a licentié un ſi grand nombre de ſes ſujets. Le Roy d'Angleterre ne m'en a point encore parlé, mais je ne doute pas qu'il ne m'en parle au premier jour, et qu'il n'ajoute encore d'autres raiſons à celles qui ont été alleguées par milord Sonderland.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth. ——King James is to propoſe that France ſhould take into his pay a regiment formed of the Britiſh troops, to be recalled from Holland——The views of this.

October 13, 1687.

"LORD Sunderland acquainted me that his maſter was to ſpeak to me about an affair of conſequence, and that he would explain it to me, to the end I might be prepared when his Britannic Majeſty ſhould communicate it to me.

The fact is, that the King of England is reſolved to withdraw his troops which are in the ſervice of the States General: he expects indeed that a great number of the officers and ſoldiers will remain in Holland, but alſo a good part may return here, and principally the Catholics, and all thoſe who are not entirely gained by the Prince of Orange. However deſirous his Britannic Majeſty may be to recall theſe troops, it is difficult for him to do it without having eaſy means of ſubſiſting thoſe who ſhall be recalled, and keeping them together in one body. The expedient of augmenting the troops which are on foot here would be the moſt natural, but there is already as great a number as the king of England can maintain. His thought therefore is, to propoſe to your Majeſty the taking into your ſervice a regiment

a regiment of infantry, compoſed of the officers and ſoldiers to be recalled from Holland; this regiment will be entirely at your Majeſty's own diſpoſal, it being underſtood nevertheleſs, that when the King of England ſhall have occaſion for them in his own country, your Majeſty will not refuſe to ſend them back.

The reaſons which oblige this Prince to make this propoſal are, that by this means there would be a new corps on foot, which would be better kept up and better diſciplined than thoſe which are in this country; that it will be a nurſery to educate and form catholic ſoldiers, who will not be informed of the dangerous maxims to monarchy, which are ſpread throughout all England, and from which even the Catholics are not entirely exempt; that without this, it will be difficult for him to recall ſo ſoon the troops which are in Holland, he not being able to ſubſiſt them eaſily together, although he knows of how much conſequence it is to him not to permit to exiſt any longer a corps of troops of his own ſubjects, the greateſt number of whom are not in his intereſts, and would ſerve againſt him if the occaſion offered.

Lord Sunderland having explained this, ſaid, he judged this affair was not eaſily to be obtained of your Majeſty; that in time of peace your Majeſty would not eaſily think of taking into your ſervice a body of foreign troops, the expence of which would exceed that of a like number of your own ſubjects; that it was well known what had happened ſome years ago with regard to the Engliſh troops which were in France; and that your Majeſty had perhaps formed for ever a diſlike at taking them into your ſervice, and making an extraordinary expence, for which there appeared no ſtrong reaſons to engage you at preſent; that however conſidering the ſtate of affairs in England in particular, and of Europe in general, your Majeſty will perhaps judge that the propoſal which is made to you, ought to be admitted; firſt, becauſe it is a thing extremely important

tant for the good of the catholic religion, for the advantage of which principally this regiment would be levied and maintained; that in this your Majesty would sensibly oblige the King his master, and give him an effectual and solid mark of friendship, at a time when he might, on his side, give proofs to your Majesty of his attachment to your interests; that the proposal which is made, shews a determined resolution on the part of the King of England, to preserve a strict connection with your Majesty, and it will even render this connection public, and may produce effects which will not be useless to your Majesty's service; that it will be a mortifying displeasure to the Prince of Orange to see the troops recalled from Holland pass into your Majesty's service; that even the States General will from thence form new subjects of jealousy against the King of England, and perceive that he is far from entering into any connection or concert with them; that the House of Austria will from thence believe, that there is between your Majesty and the King of England a connection more strict and more established than there is, which cannot but be useful in the present conjuncture; that, in fine, this regiment being in your service, ought to be looked upon as a pledge of an entire confidence on the part of the King his master, and that it is a beginning to lead in the end to all that your Majesty may judge convenient for your interests.

I told Lord Sunderland that I could not of myself give him any answer to a thing so new, and of so great consequence; that I could tell him, I believed it would be very difficult; and that he himself knew the reasons which might hinder your Majesty from taking foreign troops into your service at a time when you had disbanded so great a number of your own subjects. The King of England has not as yet spoken to me about it, but I don't doubt he will upon the first occasion, and that he will add other reasons to those which have been alledged by Lord Sunderland."

Extrait

Extrait d'une depêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

Octobre 16, 1687.

" J'Ai ſçu de milord Sonderland que milord Tirconel In the *Depot.*
eſt celui qui à le plus preſſé le Roy ſon maitre d'avoir un régiment de ſes ſujets en France, et qui lui en a fait enviſager les conſequences; cela m'a donné lieu d'entrer ſur les affaires d' Irlande: Milord Sonderland m'a dit que le Roy ſon maitre eſt réſolu de renverſer l' etabliſſement fait des biens des Irlandois Catholiques aux Anglois Proteſtans aprés le retour du Roy d' Angleterre; que cela eſt encore tenu fort ſecret; mais qu'on y travaillera bientot, et que les meſures ſont priſes pour en venir à bout. Le renverſement de cet établiſſement fait en faveur des rebelles, et des officiers de Cromwel, eſt regardé icy comme ce qu'il y a de plus important; et s'il peut être exécuté ſans oppoſition, ce ſera une entiére ſéparation de l' Irlande d' avec l' Angleterre pour l' avenir. C'eſt le ſentiment general de tous les Anglois."

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis XIVth. ——James is to reſcind the act of ſettlement in Ireland.

October 16, 1687.

" I Know from Lord Sunderland that Lord Tirconel was the perſon who preſſed the King his maſter moſt to have a regiment of his ſubjects in France, and who has pointed out to him the conſequences of it; this gave me an opportunity of entering upon the affairs of Ireland: Lord Sunderland told me that the King his maſter is reſolved to reverſe the act of ſettlement which was made of the Iriſh catholicks eſtates to the Engliſh Proteſtants upon the return of the late

King of England; that this was as yet kept very ſecret; but it would ſoon be gone about, and that meaſures are taken to accompliſh it. The reverſing this ſettlement, which was made in favour of rebels and Cromwell's officers, is looked upon here as the moſt important of all things, and if it can be executed without oppoſition it will be an entire ſeparation of Ireland from England for the future. This is the general ſentiment of all the Engliſh."

In this letter Barillon further ſays, that King James had preſſed upon him Lord Sunderland's project for taking into the French ſervice the Roman Catholicks who ſhould leave the Dutch ſervice, alledging that a foreign force of his own ſubjects ready at his call, would be the beſt means of eſtabliſhing Popery.

Barillon in his letter to his court of the 6th of November 1687, mentions his having received orders from Louis to decline receiving into France the troops, which ſhould be recalled from Holland, but to offer to maintain them in England. On the 10th of November he writes, that he had communicated his orders to King James, and made a farther offer of what troops James ſhould want from France, "Pour opprimer ſes ennemis, et ſe faire obeir de ſes ſujets." "To oppreſs his enemies, and make himſelf be obeyed by his ſubjects."

James having accepted the offer of maintaining the troops from Holland on French pay in England, his gratitude to Louis is to be ſeen in the following diſpatch.

Extrait d'une dipêche de Barillon au Roy.

Dec. 8, 1687.

In the *Depot.* "LE Roy d' Angleterre me dit il y a deux jours, que Milord Sonderland lui avoit rendu compte de ce que je lui avois dit de la part de votre Majeſté ſur l'entretien de deux mille hommes qui ſeroient rappellee

pellée d' Hollande ; qu'il l'acceptoit avec beaucoup de joie et de reconnoiſſance ; qu'il ne pouvoit aſſez me dire combien il reſſentoit cette nouvelle marque de l'amitié de votre Majeſté ; qu'il me chargeoit de l' en remercier de ſa part ; que l'entretien de quelques troupes de ſes ſujets en France lui avoit paru avantageux à ces deſſeins, mais que ce que votre Majeſté fait l'eſt fort auſſi, et le mêt en état de pourſuivre hardiment les réſolutions qu'il a priſes en faveur de la religion catholique.

Je dis à ce Prince que votre Majeſté n'avoit pas héſité d'accorder ce qui lui avoit été propoſé ; et que j'avois des ordres bien précis de l'aſſurer que quand il auroit beſoin des troupes de votre Majeſté, il en paſſeroit bientot une plus grand nombre que n'auroit ete le corps de ſes ſujets qui y auroit été entretenu. Le Roy d' Angleterre m' interrompit, et me dit, je me tiens pleinement aſſuré de l'amitié du Roy votre Majeſte, je tacherai d'en mériter la continuation, et il connoitra en toutes occaſions combien j'ai d'attachement à ſa perſonne et à ſes intéreſts.

J'ai vu depuis milord Sonderland qui m'a dit que l'offre de votre Majeſté d'entretenir deux mille hommes à produit le meilleur effet qu'on en puiſſe attendre dans l'eſprit du Roy ſon maitre, et qu'il n'a pas manqué de lui faire remarquer avec quelle promptitude votre Majeſté avoit accordé ce qui avoit été ſeulement inſinué comme une choſe qui lui ſeroit agréable.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.——James thanks Louis for keeping the 2000 *Papiſts in his pay in England.*

December 8, 1687.

" THE King of England told me two days ago that Lord Sunderland had given him an account of what I had ſaid to him on your Majeſty's part,

concerning the keeping up in this country two thouſand men to be recalled from Holland, that he accepted it with a great deal of joy and gratitude; that he could not ſufficiently tell me how much he eſteemed this new mark of your Majeſty's friendſhip; that he charged me to thank you for it on his part; that the keeping on foot ſome troops of his ſubjects in France had appeared to him advantageous to his deſigns, but that what your Majeſty does is likewiſe highly ſo, and puts him in a condition to purſue boldly the reſolutions which he has taken in favour of the catholic religion.

I told this Prince that your Majeſty had not heſitated in granting what had been propoſed; and that I had very preciſe orders to aſſure him, that when there ſhould be occaſion for your Majeſty's forces, you would ſoon cauſe a much greater number to paſs over than the body of his ſubjects would have been, which were to have been kept on foot in France. The King of England interrupted me, and ſaid, I hold myſelf fully aſſured of the King your maſter's friendſhip; I ſhall endeavour to merit the continuation of it, and he ſhall know on every occaſion how much I am attached to his perſon and intereſts.

I have ſince ſeen Lord Sunderland, who told me that your Majeſty's offer of keeping up the two thouſand men had produced in the King his Maſter's mind a better effect than could have been expected from it; and that he had not omitted to make him obſerve with what readineſs your Majeſty had granted, what had only been inſinuated as a thing that would be agreeable to him."

There are in King William's box the following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, concerning the recall of theſe troops from the Dutch ſervice.

King

King James to the Prince of Orange.——Recalls the ſix Britiſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice.

Whitehall, Jan. 17th, 1688.

"I Have charged my envoy, Monſ. d'Abbeville, who will give you an account that I think it for my ſervice to call for home the ſix regiments of my ſubjects, which are under your command, in the States ſervice; and have written to the States to the ſame purpoſe, and hope you will do your part to further their being embarked as ſoon as may be: what elſe I have to ſay upon this ſubject, I refer to my envoy; which is all I ſhall ſay now, but that you ſhall ſtill find me as kind as you can deſire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.——Angry that the States have given leave to the officers but not to the ſoldiers.

Whitehall, Feb. 16, 1688.

"YESTERDAY I received yours of the 20th, and at the ſame time the States anſwer about the regiments of my ſubjects which are in their ſervice; by which I was ſurpriſed to find they make a difficulty to let the common ſoldiers have the ſame liberty which they grant the officers, they being all equally my ſubjects. I had no reaſon to expect ſuch an anſwer; what I have further to ſay to you upon that affair, I muſt refer to my envoy, whom I have alſo ordered to ſpeak to the States upon that ſubject; which is all I ſhall ſay now, but that you ſhall find me as kind to you as you have reaſon to expect."

King James to the Prince of Orange.——To the ſame purpoſe.

Whitehall, March 2, 1688.

"I Had not time by the laſt poſt to let you know I had received yours of the 2d, by which I found the reaſon why I could not then expect an anſwer to Mr. Abbeville's ſecond memorial concerning my ſubjects in the ſix regiments. The next letters may I think bring me the anſwer of it, which I cannot doubt will be ſuch a one as in reaſon I ought to expect, the common ſoldiers being as much my ſubjects as the officers. You will have ſeen, before this gets to you, the copy of the capitulation you made with the late Lord Oſſory, which is very home to this point; ſo that ſure, if it was not done before, there will be no further difficulty made of letting ſuch of the common men come over as are willing. I ſhall ſay no more now, but that you ſhall find me as kind to you as you can expect."

King James to the Prince of Orange.——To the ſame purpoſe.

Whitehall, March 13, 1688.

"SINCE I wrote laſt to you I have had two of yours; and having been a hunting this day, and come home late, am ſo ſleepy that I can only tell you that I did not expect to have had ſuch anſwers from the States to the memorials lately given in by my envoy, eſpecially where your influence is ſo great; and ſure 'tis the firſt inſtance, and I believe will be the laſt wherever ſubjects were refuſed the liberty to return back when demanded to ſerve their Prince. I ſhall always be as kind to you as you have reaſon to expect."

Notwithſtanding the refuſal of the States (or rather of the Prince) to permit the Britiſh ſoldiers in their ſervice,

ſervice to obey King James's recal, many of them made their eſcape and returned into England. Of theſe, and other popiſh ſoldiers, three regiments were formed inſtead of the two which had been a little before intended; for on the 26th July, 1688, Barillon writes to his court, that he had given Lord Godolphin 93,440 livres tournois, for the firſt two months pay of the three regiments, and that he was to continue the ſame payment at the end of every ſecond month.

In the *Depot.*

On the 6th of December, 1685, Louis the XIVth, in a letter to Barillon, ordered him to give a penſion to Lord Sunderland of 20,000, or even 24,000 crowns: "Tant qu'il contribuera tout ce que depend de lui au maintien d'une bonne correſpondence entre moy et le Roy ſon maitre, et à eloigner tout engagement qui pouvoit être contraire à mes intereſts."—"As long as he ſhall contribute whatever depends upon him to maintain a good correſpondence between me and the King his maſter, and to remove every engagement which can be contrary to my intereſts."

After James had thanked Louis XIVth for complying in part with Lord Tyrconnel's project for recalling the Britiſh troops in the Dutch ſervice, and putting them in the pay of France, the reſolution for recalling them was ſuſpended for ſome time; and about the ſame time Skelton, who was ambaſſador in France, ſuggeſted to the French court his ſuſpicions that Lord Sunderland was ſecretly in the intereſts of the Prince of Orange. Barillon, upon this, got orders from Louis the XIVth to watch narrowly the motions of Lord Sunderland, and to report what he obſerved. Upon Barillon's attempting to ſound him, he who had been the cauſe of getting the recal ſuſpended, agreed to give his intereſt for having the ſuſpenſion removed, provided a large gratification in money ſhould be added to his penſion, for doing ſo; thus, by a refinement of profligacy, deceiving Barillon into the belief that he was engaged in no intereſt but his own. The two following diſpatches, the firſt of which

contains an account of his asking a gratification, and the second of his getting one, though smaller than he expected, show to what an extraordinary degree Barillon was duped by him.

Depêche de Mr. Barillon, au Roy, Janvier 5, 1688.

In the *Depot.*

J'AI observé exactement ce que votre Majesté m'ordonne par sa depêche du 13 Decembre dernier, de ne témoigner aucun empressement pour le rappel des troupes qui sont en Hollande. J'ai pris aussi tout le soin que je dois pour découvrir de qui vient le retardement de la resolution qui paroissoit prise pour le rappel de ces troupes; et je n'ai rien obmis pour pénétrer si le soupçon que paroit avoir le Skelton a quelque fondement solide. Je ne me suis tenu à ce que milord Sonderland m'a dit que les principaux Catholiques étoient d'avis que ce rappel ne devoit être fait qu'àpres l'assemblée d'un parlement. J'ai su d'un ami intime de milord Puez, que milord Arondel et lui croioient que ce seroit gater les affaires que de rapeller les troupes qui sont en Hollande présentement: la question est de savoir s'ils ont pensé cela de leur chef, ou si milord Sonderland leur a inspiré le sentiment qu'ils ont, ou s'il a pris le parti de retarder une affaire qu'il a pressée d'abord fort vivement, et qu'il paroissoit avoir fort à cœur aussi bien que le Roi son maitre; c'est ce qui n'est pas aisé à penetrer; mais ce qu'il y a d'assuré, c'est que le retardement du rappel des troupes d'Hollande aprés la séance du parlement rend ce rappel incertain, et qu'il pourra arriver beaucoup de choses qui l'empecheront. Votre Majesté en jugera plus aisément quand je lui aurai rendu compte de ce qui s'est passè dans cette affaire depuis quelques jours.

Milord Sonderland ayant entrevu que je ne faisois aucune nouvelle instance pour le rappel des troupes de Hollande, m'a parlé plus ouvertement qu'il n'avoit encore fait: il m'a dit que les principaux Catholiques regardoient ce rappel des troupes comme une rupture

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avec les Etats Généraux, et principalement avec le Prince d'Orange; et qu'ils avoient été d'avis que cela ne ſe pouvoit faire qu' aprés qu'on auroit eſſaié ce qui ſe pourroit obtenir d'un parlement, parceque ſi on venoit à bout de faire révoquer les loix penales et le Teſt, il n'y auroit point alors de peril ni d'inconvenient de rapeller des troupes dont on pourroit avoir beſoin, pour maintenir ce qui auroit été établi en faveur des Catholiques, et empêcher les efforts des factieux, aux quels il ne reſteroit plus d'autre reſſource que celle d'exciter des troubles et des diſordres en Angleterre: que ſi ces troupes étoient rappellees préſentement, ce ſeroit redoubler les ſoupçons qu'on a deja en ce pays cy, que le deſſein eſt formé de rompre avec les Etats Généraux et avec le Prince d'Orange, et par conſéquent de s'unir étroitement avec la France; que beaucoup de gens bien intentionnés pour l'autorité royale et pour la révocation des loix penales craindroient qu'on ne s'engageat trop avant contre la Hollande, et que ce ne fût un projet fait pour l'établiſſement de la religion Catholique, et pour la ruine de la Proteſtante, et que cela les empécheroit de favoriſer les deſſeins de ſa Majeſté Britannique dans le parlement; qu'il ſeroit beaucoup plus prudent d'attendre ce que le parlement fera, et de ne point mettre d'obſtacle aux réſolutions qui s'y peuvent prendre.

Milord Sonderland m'a fait entendre que ces raiſons avoient fait quelqu' impreſſion ſur l'eſprit du Roi ſon maitre et l'avoient empêché de ſe déterminer à rappeller preſentement les troupes de Hollande; qu' à ſon egard de lui, il n'eſtimoit pas que les raiſons alleguées fuſſent ſolides, et qu'il croyoit les pouvoir obtenir et faire prendre la réſolution de rappeller les troupes d'Hollande inceſſamment; qu'il en avoit enviſagé toutes les conſequences, et qu'il connoiſſoit bien ce qui en pouvoit arriver; qu'il prétendoit faire connoitre au Roi ſon maitre, que l'envie demeſurée qu'ont les principaux Catholiques d'obtenir d'un parlement la révocation des loix pénales, leur fait apprehender mal à propos ce rappel des troupes; que l'offre que votre Majeſté fait d'entretenir deux mille hommes de ces troupes, marque un deſir

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ſincere d'obliger le Roi ſon maitre ; qu'il la regarde auſſi comme une preuve certaine de ſes bonnes intentions pour l'affermiſſement de ſon autorité, et pour l'avancement de la religion Catholique en Angleterre ; que la maniere don votre Majeſté avoit accordé ce qui lui à été demandé, a produit tout l'effet qu'on en pouvoit attendre dans l'eſprit de ſa Majeſté Britannique ; que tout cela n'empêche pas que votre Majeſté ne ſuive en cette occaſion ſes veritables intéreſts, et qu'elle ne faſſe un coup important pour ſon ſervice, en mettant une ſi grande diviſion entre l'Angleterre et les Etats Généraux ; que l'entretien de deux mille hommes couteroit à votre Majeſté deux cent mille ecus ou fort peu davantage, et que pour cette ſomme le Roi ſon maitre entroit dans un engagement auſſi formel et auſſi fort qu' avoit fait le feu Roi d'Angleterre pour des ſommes bien plus conſiderables ; que quand ce premier pas ſeroit fait, on ſuivroit éxactement de la part du Roi ſon maitre la conduite que votre Majeſté pouvoit deſirer ; que ce ſecret de l'entretien de deux mille hommes n'étoit encore ſu que de lui ſeul, et qu'il ne le ſeroit apparemment dans la ſuite d'aucun autre, qu'il croioit du moins qu'il ſera confié à fort peu de gens ; qu'il ſeroit fort facile de faire connoitre au Roi ſon maitre qu'il s'engage tout à fait avec votre Majeſté pour deux cent mil ecus par an, et d' inſinuer qu'il faudroit demander une ſomme plus conſiderable, mais que ce n'étoit pas la conduite qu'il veut tenir ; que ſon deſſein au contraire eſt de faire que le Roy ſon maitre ſe content de ce qui eſt offert, et entre dans tous les engagemens qui en ſont les ſuites néceſſaires ; que les troupes d'Hollande pourroient être rappellées inceſſamment ; et qu'il s'expoſeroit à ce qui en pourroit arriver ſi ce rappel des troupes produiſoit des effets contraires à ce qu'on attend d'un parlement ; qu'il ſavoit bien qu'on le regardoit comme l'auteur de cette reſolution, et que ceux qui ne l'approuvent pas trouveront aiſement les moyens de s'en diſculper auprés de M. le Prince d'Orange, et de remettre tout ſur lui ; qu'il vouloit bien en courir le hazard, mais qu'en même tems

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il croioit devoir être assuré d'une protection pleine et entiére de la part de votre Majesté ; qu'ainsi il me diroit franchement que le peril au quel il s'expose l'oblige à prendre quelque précaution, et à demander que votre Majesté entre en consideration de ses services, et lui donne de nouvelles marques de sa bienveillance en lui accordant une gratification, et lui continuant sa pension ordinaire ; qu'il ne demandoit rien de cette gratification qu'aprés que les troupes d'Hollande seroient arriv es icy ; qu'il ne cragnoit point de lui avoir cette nouvelle obligation dans le dessein ou il est d'entrer generalement dans tout ce qui peut convenir aux intérests de votre Majesté ; que c'étoit à moi à representer le fait comme il est, et à lui faire savoir les intentions de votre Majesté, à fin qu'il s'y puisse conformer.

Je répondis peu de chose à ce discours, parceque je fus fort surpris de la proposition qui m'étoit faite : Je ne m'engageai pas d'abord d' en écrire ; je dis seulement à milord Sonderland qu'il m'avoit dit beaucoup de choses de grand consequence qui meritoient beaucoup de reflexion ; que je croyois seulement lui pouvoir dire qu'il ne devoit pas capituler avec votre Majesté, et qu'il feroit plus convenable de faire de sa part ce qui peut être agréable à votre Majesté, et que dans la suite il sera en droit de demander et d'attendre des graces qu'il aura meritées.

Nous eumes hier un second entretien dans lequel ce ministre répéta ce qu'il m'avoit dit, et me fit entendre que son dessein n' étoit pas de se prévaloir de la conjuncture présente pour en tirer ses avantages particuliers ; qu'il demeuroit dans les engagements qu'il a pris d' être toujours dans les intérests de votre Majesté ; que j'ai vu de quelle maniere il s'est conduit en toutes les occasions qui se sont présentées ; que je connois quelle part il a dans la confiance de son maitre ; que si le rappel des troupes d' Hollande convient à votre Majesté, elle voudra bien que celui qui lui rend ce service en soit recompensé, puisque par là il s'expose beaucoup plus qu'il n'a encore fait ; que cela doit être représentée d'une manie-

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re pleine de reſpect et de ſoumiſſion de ſa part, mais que dans les affaires d' importance il faut s'expliquer nettement, et ſavoir à quoi s'en tenir, à fin d' agir plus ſurement et plus hardiment; qu'il eſpere que votre Majeſté voudra bien lui accorder une ſomme qui le mette en état d' enviſager avec moins d' inquiétude les revolutions qui arrivent ſi ſouvent en Angleterre; il ne s'eſt point expliqué preciſement de la ſomme qui'l demande, mais je crois qu'il s'attend à quelque choſe de conſiderable; et il paroit perſuadé qu'il rendra un grand ſervice à votre Majeſté en faiſant rappeller les troupes d' Hollande.

J'ai fait mon poſſible pour le détourner de faire cette demande, et je lui ai repreſenté que s'étant déja engagé dans les intéreſts de votre Majeſté, il devoit faire tout ce qu'il croit lui devoir être agréable, et ne pas mettre votre Majeſté dans la neceſſité dé lui accorder ce qu'il demande, ou de le dégouter par un refus.

Ma remonſtrance a produit peu d' effet, et il m'a repliqué, que ſi votre Majeſté, juge qu'il eſt avan tageux à ſon ſervice de faire rappeller ces troupes, elle ne ſera pas fachée de lui accorder une ſomme qu'elle croira bien employée.

Il me reſtre à rendre compte à votre Majeſté de ce qui concerne le ſoupçon que le Monſieur Skelton croit pouvoir tomber ſur milord Sonderland d'une liaiſon ſecrete avec M. le Prince d' Orange; je n'ai rien pénetre qui puiſſe le faire croire; je vois au contraire que ce miniſtre s'engage tous les jours d'avantage dans tout ce qui peut etre le plus oppoſé aux interêſts de M. le Prince d' Orange, et qui'l tient une conduite qui ne s'accorde pas avec le deſſein qu'on prétend qu'il auroit de le menager. C'eſt lui qui a depuis long tems preſſé avec ardeur toutes les réſolutions ce qui peut conduire les affaires à l'abolition des loix Pénales et du Teſt, qui eſt ce que M. le Prince d' Orange craint d'avantage; je crois ſavoir qu'il eſt réſolu de ſe déclarer catholique quand le Roy ſon maitre le voudra: tout cela eſt difficile à concilier avec un engagement ſecret dans les intéreſts de M. le Prince d' Orange. Il me paroit gàrder fort peu

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de menagement ſur les choſes importantes qu'il me confie, et il hazarderoit beaucoup s'il y en avoit quelques unes de connues: il ſe peut faire que je ſois prevenu en ſa faveur, et qu'aiant a vivre dans une cour dont il occupe le principal poſte, je me laiſſe aller trop aiſement à croire ce qui m'eſt le plus agreeable, et ce qui facilite d'avantage le ſuccès des affaires dont je ſuis chargé. Je ne laiſſerai pas d'avoir les yeux ouverts pour pouvoir decouvrir la verité; cependant il me ſemble que milord Sonderland ſe livre tous le jours d'avantage a moi, et ſe mét pour ainſi dire entre les mains de votre Majeſté. C'eſt lui qui a entamé avec moi l'affaire du rappel des troupes, et qui a pris tout le ſoin poſſible de la faire réuſſir: il eſt vrai que l'execution de ce rappel eſt retardee, que la propoſition qu'il fait d'une gratification extraordinaire pourroit faire croire qu'il a retarde le rappel des troupes pour ſon intereſt particulier; il croit du moins s'en devoir ſervir pour venir à ſes fins. C'eſt á votre Majeſté de juger ce qui eſt le plus convenable à ſon ſervice. Les raiſons que le Marquis d'Abbeville a alleguees dont j'ai envoyé copie á votre Majeſté marquent aſſez qu'il eſt de l'intéreſt du Roy d' Angleterre de rapeller ces troupes d' Hollande; mais ces raiſons n'ont pas été ſuffiſantes pour en faire prendre la réſolution. Si votre Majeſté juge qu'il ſoit de ſon ſervice d'entrer dans ce qui eſt propoſé par milord Sonderland, je ne fais aucun doute que les troupes ne ſoient inceſſament rapellées, et que ce miniſtre ne donne bientot cette marque de ſon crédit; mais ſi votre Majeſté laiſſe agir le Roy d'Angleterre ſelon qu'il le jugera plus à propos, et qu'elle ſe remette à ce qu'on voudra déterminer icy ſur le tems de ce rappel, il ſera, ce me ſemble, neceſſaire de parler à milord Sonderland d'une maniere qui adouciſſe le chagrin d' avoir eſſuié un refus, et qui lui laiſſe une porte ouverte pour traiter les affaires en la maniere qu'il a fait juſqu' à preſent. J' attendrai ce qu'il plaira à votre Majeſté d'ordonner pour l' éxecuter ponctuellement.

Il y aura des prieres publiques ordonnées par tout l' Angleterre à un jour qui ſera marqué, pour l'heureux

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ſuccés de la groſſeſſe de la Reine d' Angleterre; les prieres de catholiques ſeront fort ſinceres; on ne s'attend pas que ce ſoit la méme choſe dans les egliſes Proteſtantes; mais les eveſques et les paſteurs n'oſeront ſe diſpenſer d'obeir á la proclamation. Je ſuis, &c."

Tranſlation.

Diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Suſpicions of lord Sunderland.—Barillon duped by his flattery.—Sunderland aſks a gratification beſides his penſion.

January 5, 1688.

"I Have exactly obſerved what your Majeſty ordered me by your diſpatch of the 18th of December laſt, not to ſhew too much eagerneſs for recalling the troops which are in Holland. I have alſo taken all the pains I could to diſcover who has been the occaſion of ſuſpending the reſolution which appeared to be taken for recalling theſe troops; and I have omitted nothing to find out if the ſuſpicion Mr. Skelton appears to have has any ſolid foundation. I do not build any thing upon Lord Sunderland's telling me, that the principal catholicks were of opinion that the recall ought not to be made till after the meeting of a parliament. I know from an intimate friend of Lord Powis, that Lord Arundel and he believe that recalling the troops which are in Holland at preſent would ſpoil matters: The queſtion is to know if this opinion is their own, or if Lord Sunderland has inſinuated it to them; or if he has taken the part to retard an affair which at firſt he preſſed very ſtrongly, and ſeemed to have much at heart as well as the King his maſter; this is not eaſy to be penetrated; but what is ſure is, that the delay of recalling theſe troops from Holland till after the ſeſſion of parliament, renders the recall uncertain, and many things may happen to prevent it. Your Majeſty will judge better of this, when I have given you an account of

of what has paſſed upon this affair within theſe few days.

Lord Sunderland having obſerved that I made no new inſtances for recalling the troops from Holland, ſpoke to me more openly than he ever yet did: he told me that the principal catholics looked upon this recall of the troops as a rupture with the States General, and principally with the Prince of Orange; and that they were of opinion it could not be done till after a trial had been made of what might be obtained from a parliament; becauſe if they could bring about the revocation of the Penal laws and the Teſt, there would then be neither danger nor inconvenience in recalling ſuch troops as they might have occaſion for, in order to maintain what ſhould be eſtabliſhed in favour of the catholics, and prevent the efforts of the factious, who would have no other reſource left than that of exciting troubles and diſorders in England; that if the troops were recalled at preſent it would redouble the ſuſpicions already entertained in this country, of a formed deſign to break with the States General and the the Prince of Orange, and conſequently of a ſtrict union with France: that many people well intentioned to the Royal Authority, and the revocation of the Penal laws, would be afraid of being too far engaged againſt Holland; and that it was a ſcheme concerted for the eſtabliſhment of the catholic, and the ruin of the proteſtant religion, and that this would hinder them favouring the deſigns of his Britannic Majeſty in parliament: that it would be much more prudent to wait for what parliament will do, and not put an obſtacle in the way of the reſolutions which may be taken there.

Lord Sunderland made me underſtand that theſe reaſons had made ſome impreſſion upon the King his maſter's mind, and had prevented him from determining at preſent to recall the troops from Holland; that with regard to himſelf he did not eſteem the reaſons given ſolid, and that he believed he might prevail, and cauſe a reſolution

lution to be taken for recalling theſe troops from Holland immediately: that he had looked at all the conſequences, and very well knew what might happen: That he would convince the King his maſter that it was the immoderate deſire of the principal catholics to obtain from parliament the revocation of the Penal laws, which made them apprehend this recall of the troops to be ill-timed; that the offer your Majeſty made, to keep two thouſand men of theſe troops, ſhews a ſincere deſire to oblige the King his maſter; and that he regards it alſo as a certain proof of your good intentions for the eſtabliſhing of his authority, and the advancement of the Catholic religion in England; that the manner in which your Majeſty granted what had been aſked of you, had produced all the effect which could be expected from it in the mind of the King of Great Britain; that your Majeſty would at the ſame time in this follow your true intereſts, and ſtrike an important blow for your ſervice, by making ſo great a diviſion between England the States General; the ſupporting two thouſand men will coſt your Majeſty two hundred thouſand crowns, or very little more, and that for this ſum his maſter would enter into an engagement as formal and as ſtrong as the deceaſed King of England did for much more conſiderable ſums. That when this firſt ſtep was taken, there would be followed on the part of the King his maſter, that conduct which your Majeſty could deſire; that the ſecret of keeping two thouſand men in pay was known to him alone, and, in all appearance, would not be to any other, at leaſt he believed it would be truſted to very few people; that it would be eaſy to make the King his maſter ſee that he engages himſelf entirely to your Majeſty for two hundred thouſand crowns per annum, and to inſinuate that he ought to aſk a more conſiderable ſum, but that this is not the conduct he chuſes to follow; that his deſign, on the contrary, is to make the King his maſter contented with what is offered, and enter into all the engagements which are the neceſſary conſequences of it; that the troops

troops in Holland might be recalled immediately, and would expoſe himſelf to whatever may happen, if this recall of the troops ſhould be any ways prejudicial to what may be expected from a parliament; that he knew very well he was looked upon as the author of this reſolution, and that thoſe who do not approve it, will eaſily find means to exculpate themſelves to the Prince of Orange, and throw the whole upon him; that he was very willing to run the hazard, but at the ſame time he thought he ſhould be aſſured of a full and entire protection from your Majeſty; that upon this account he would freely tell me, that the danger to which he expoſes himſelf obliged him to take ſome precaution, and to deſire your Majeſty to take his ſervices into conſideration, and give him ſome new marks of your goodneſs by beſtowing upon him a gratification, and continuing to him his ordinary penſion; that he would aſk no part of his gratification till after the troops from Holland ſhould arrive here; that he was not afraid of owing this new obligation to you, as his deſign was to enter generally into whatever might be ſuitable to the intereſts of your Majeſty; that it was my part to repreſent the fact as it is, and to let him know your Majeſty's intentions, in order that he might act accordingly.

I anſwered very little to this diſcourſe, becauſe I was much ſurpriſed with the propoſal he made me: I did not undertake at once to write of it, I only told Lord Sunderland that he had ſaid many things to me of great conſequence, which merited more reflexion; that I thought, I could only tell him, he ought not to treat upon terms with your Majeſty, and that it would be more ſuitable on his part to do what might be agreeable to your Majeſty, and that afterwards he would have a right to aſk and expect the favours he ſhall have deſerved.

We had yeſterday a converſation, in which this miniſter had repeated what he had ſaid to me, and gave me to underſtand, that his deſign was not to avail himſelf

ſelf of the preſent conjuncture to draw his own advantage from it; that he continued in the engagements he had taken to be always in your Majeſty's intereſts; that I had ſeen in what manner he had conducted himſelf on all occaſions which had offered; that I knew what part he has in his maſter's confidence; that if recalling the troops from Holland ſuited your Majeſty, you would not be unwilling to recompenſe the perſon who renders you that ſervice, ſince he thereby expoſes himſelf much more than he had yet done; that this ought to be repreſented in a manner full of reſpect and ſubmiſſion on his part, but in affairs of importance it was neceſſary for him to explain himſelf clearly, and know what he had to depend upon, to the end he might act more ſurely and more boldly; that he hoped your Majeſty would graciouſly beſtow upon him ſuch a ſum, as might put him in a condition to confront with leſs anxiety the revolutions which ſo often happen in England: he did not preciſely explain himſelf upon the ſum he aſked, but I believe he expects ſomething conſiderable, and he appears perſuaded, that he ſhall render a great ſervice to your Majeſty in cauſing the troops to be recalled from Holland.

I did all I could to diſſuade him from making this demand, and I repreſented to him, that being already engaged in your Majeſty's intereſts, he ought to do every thing he thought might be agreeable to you, and not put your Majeſty under the neceſſity of granting what he aſked, or diſguſting him by a refuſal.

My remonſtrance produced little effect, and he replied, that if your Majeſty judged it advantageous to your ſervice to have theſe troops recalled, you would not grudge him a ſum which you believed well employed.

It remains for me to give your Majeſty an account of what relates to the ſuſpicion which Mr. Skelton thinks may fall upon Lord Sunderland of a ſecret connexion with the Prince of Orange; I have diſcovered nothing that can make it be believed; on the contrary, I ſee

that

that this minister engages himself every day more in whatever can be most opposite to the interests of the Prince of Orange, and that he holds a conduct inconsistent with the design which it is pretended he has, to keep measures with him. He is the person who for a long time past, has ardently pressed all the resolutions which have been taken in favour of the Catholics; he pursues with firmness whatever can lead to the abolishing the Penal Laws and the Test, which is what the Prince of Orange fears the most. I know that he is resolved to declare himself a Catholic, when the King his master will have him. All this is difficult to reconcile with a secret engagement in the interests of the Prince of Orange. He appears to me to preserve very little reserve upon the important things he trusts me with, and hazards a great deal if some of them were known. I may, perhaps, be prejudiced in his favour, and that living in a Court, the principal employment of which he fills, I am too easily led to believe what is most agreeable to me, and what most facilitates the success of the affairs with which I am charged; I shall not, however, fail in keeping my eyes open to discover, if possible, the truth. In the mean time, it seems to me, that Lord Sunderland gives himself up to me more and more every day, and puts himself, if I may say so, into your Majesty's hands. It was he who set on foot the affair to me of recalling the troops, and who had taken all possible pains to make it succeed: it is true the execution of this recal is retarded, and the proposal he makes of an extraordinary gratification, might make it believed that he has delayed the recal of the troops for his own private interest; at least he believes he may make use of it to bring about his ends. Your Majesty is to judge what is most suitable to your service; the reasons which the Marquis d'Abbeville makes use of, (of which I have sent your Majesty a copy) prove sufficiently that it is the King of England's interest to recal these troops from Holland, but these reasons have not been sufficient to cause the resolutions to be taken. If your

Majeſty thinks it may be for your ſervice to enter into what is propoſed by Lord Sunderland, I make no doubt but the troops will be recalled without loſs of time, and that this miniſter will ſpeedily give this proof of his credit; but if your Majeſty ſhall leave the King of England to act according to what he ſhall judge moſt proper, and ſhall refer yourſelf to what they may determine here with regard to the time of the recall, it will, I believe, be neceſſary to ſpeak to Lord Sunderland in ſuch a manner, as may ſoften the chagrin of having met with a refuſal, and leave a door open to him for managing affairs in the manner he has done hitherto. I ſhall wait for what it may pleaſe your Majeſty to order, that I may execute it punctually.

There will be public prayers ordered throughout England upon a day to be named, for a happy iſſue to the Queen of England's pregnancy; the prayers of the Catholics will be very ſincere; the ſame is not expected in the proteſtant churches; but the biſhops and miniſters will not dare to excuſe themſelves from obeying the proclamation.

I am, &c.

Extrait d'une depêche de Barillon au Roy, Janv. 26, 1688.

In the *Depot.*

"CE n'eſt pas ſans peine que j'ai réduit la perſonne dont il eſt queſtion à ſe contenter de ce que votre Majeſté me preſcrit par ſa depêche du 17 Janvier: il s'eſt à la fin rendue aux aſſurances que je lui ai données de la part de votre Majeſté, que dans d'autres occaſions plus convenables et plus avantageuſes aux intéreſts de votre Majeſté, elle entrera en conſideration de ce qui ſe fera pour ſon ſervice. J'ai fait valoir comme j'ai du l'offre d'une gratification extraordinaire, ſans rien exiger de lui preſentement. Je n'ai fait paroitre aucun empreſſement pour le rappel des troupes d' Hollande, et je l'ai laiſſé dans une entiére liberté de le hater ou de le retarder; j'ai même allégué les raiſons, portées par le depeche

pêche de votre Majeſté, pour lui perſuader que votre Majeſté n'a aucune raiſon de preſſer ce rappel, et qu'elle ſe rapporte à ce que le Roy d'Angleterre jugera en cela devoir être fait pour ſon propre intéreſt. La concluſion a été que celui à qui je parlois a accepté la gratification extraordinaire, et a pris de nouveaux engagemens d'être entierement dans les intéreſts de votre Majeſté, et de chercher avec ſoin les occaſions de lui en donner des marques. Je ne puis pas dire cependant qu'il ſoit pleinement content; il avoit conçu l'eſperance d'un avantage conſiderable dont il a peine à ſe departir; il s'imagine ne pas trouver ſitôt une occaſion pareille à celle cy de meriter de votre Majeſté; je lui ai fait entendre qu'il s'en préſenteroit aſſez à l'avenir, et qu'aiant beaucoup de bonne volonté et un grand crédit auprés du Roy ſon maitre, on trouveroit dans la ſuite des conjonctures, encore plus favorables et plus importantes.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth. ——Lord Sunderland gets a preſent gratification from France beſides his penſion.

January 26, 1688.

"IT was not without trouble that I brought the perſon in queſtion (i. e. Lord Sunderland) to content himſelf with what your Majeſty preſcribed to me by your diſpatch of the 17th of January; at laſt he ſubmitted himſelf to the aſſurances I gave him on your Majeſty's part, that on other occaſions more ſuitable and more advantageous to your intereſts, you would enter into the conſideration of what he ſhall do for your ſervice. I ſhewed him the importance of your Majeſty's offer of an extraordinary gratification, without exacting any thing from him at preſent. I expreſſed no eagerneſs for recalling the troops from Holland, and left him entirely at liberty to haſten or to retard it; I

even made uſe of the reaſons contained in your Majeſty's diſpatch, to perſuade him that you had no cauſe to preſs the recall, and that you refer to what the King of England ſhall judge ſhould be done for his own intereſt. The concluſion was, that the perſon to whom I ſpoke accepted the extraordinary gratification, and has entered into a freſh engagement to be entirely in your Majeſty's intereſts, and to ſeek with care for occaſions to give proofs of it. I cannot, however, ſay that he is fully contented; he had conceived hopes of a more conſiderable reward, which he can hardly quit. He imagines he will not ſoon find ſuch an opportunity of deſerving well of your Majeſty. I told him, that enough would offer in time to come, and that having much of the good will of the King his maſter, and a great credit with him, conjunctures would be hereafter found ſtill more favourable and more important."

In the *Depot.* Barillon in his diſpatches of 26th February, 1ſt, 4th, 11th and 22d March, 12th April, and 24th May, 1688, gives his court accounts, that he aſked King James to fit out twenty-five ſhips of war to ſupport Denmark: that Sunderland long oppoſed this armament, alledging it would involve England in a quarrel with Holland; but that James, in conſideration of 200,000 crowns to be paid him by France, having at laſt, with Sunderland's approbation, agreed to what was aſked, Sunderland made a merit of his maſter's conſent, to inſinuate an expectation of another gratification to himſelf. "Je ne dois (ſays Barillon) cacher à votre Majeſté que milord Sonderland croit en cela avoir bien merité de votre Majeſté, et qu'il peut eſperer des marques de ſa bienveillance par une gratification extraordinaire." "I ought not to conceal from your Majeſty, that Lord Sunderland thinks he has deſerved well of your Majeſty in this, and that he may hope for marks of your goodneſs by an extraordinary gratification."

In the *Depot.* An account of Barillon's diſburſements, dated 26th July, 1688, contains theſe two articles.

"Surquoi

" Surquoi j'ai donné pour les ſix premiers mois de cette anné de la penſion que ſa Majeſté a accordé à milord Sonderland, la ſomme de trente mille livres Tournois.

Plus á la même perſonne pour gratification extraordinaire par ſa Majeſté la ſomme de trente mille livres Tournois."

" Of which I have given for the firſt ſix months of this year, of the penſion which your Majeſty has granted to Lord Sunderland, the ſum of 30,000 livres Tournois.

More to the ſame perſon for extraordinary gratification by your Majeſty, the ſum of 30,000 livres Tournois."

Le Marquis d'Abbeville, whom Lord Sunderland choſe to ſend ambaſſador to Holland, at the time when the foundations of the Revolution were laying, was as profligate as himſelf.

Barillon in his letter 2d of September, 1686, reminds Louis the XIVth that he had, upon a former occaſion, engaged Albeville in his intereſts, and aſks a power to do ſo again. He adds theſe words, " Monſieur le Prince d'Orange faira ce qu'il pourra pour le gagner." " The Prince of Orange will do what he can to gain him."

On the 5th of September, 1686, Barillon writes, " L'Ambaſſadeur d'Hollande (i. e. d'Avaux) croit que Monſ. le Prince d' Orange pourra, s'il en a bien envie, l'engager dans ſes intereſts." " The ambaſſador of Holland (i. e. d'Avaux) believes that the Prince of Orange will be able, if he has much deſire for it, to engage him in his intereſts."

On the 23d September, 1686, he writes, that he is to pay 300 guineas to Albeville; he adds, " Il a pris avec moy toutes les engagemens poſſibles." " He has taken with me all poſſible engagemens." And in his account of diſburſements of the 10th of March, 1687, he ſtates 300 guineas more to Albeville.

Lord Sunderland, as may be seen in the Memoirs, to which the present papers are an Appendix, got the command of the foreign correspondence, by procuring an order from the King to his ambassadors in foreign parts, not to write news of importance to the ordinary ministers. Among others, Albeville got this order, but he made a merit of it to Barillon, as if himself had procured it. Barillon, in the same letter of the 23d September, writes thus: "Il (i. e. Albeville) a rendu une service considerable depuis trois jours, ayant obtenu du Roy son maitre, que lorsqu'il seroit en Hollande, il ecriroit les choses generales et qui doivent être publiques a milord Middleton; mais que les choses secrettes et importantes seroient addressées à milord Sunderland: c'est mettre les affaires d'Hollande dans ses mains, et les tirer de celles de milord Middleton, cela peut être utile en beaucoup d'occasions." "He (i. e. Albeville) has done considerable service within these three days, having obtained of the King his master, that when he is in Holland he may write to Lord Middleton general things, and which may be made public; but that secret and important affairs, should be addressed to Lord Sunderland: this is putting the affairs of Holland into his hands, and taking them out of Lord Middleton's, which may be useful on many occasions."

After this, Barillon in his dispatches frequently sends news to France, which he got from Albeville in Holland.

James was lulled into a fatal security by Sunderland and Albeville.

In the *Depot.* Louis the XIVth, in a letter to Barillon of the 7th of June, 1688, ordered him to warn James to be on his guard against the States of Holland, and to make an offer of joining sixteen French ships to the English fleet.

In the *Depot.* Barillon answers, on the 10th of June, that James had accepted the offer, and that Lord Sunderland proposed

poſed the offer ſhould be made public, to intimidate the Dutch.

Barillon writes, on the 14th June, that James had altered his mind, and thought the junction needleſs. "Il ne paroit pas perſuadé juſqu'à preſent que cette junction puiſſe être neceſſaire cette anné, ni qu'il y a apparence d'aucune enterpriſe de la part des Etats Generaux contre lui." "He does not appear perſuaded that this juncture can be neceſſary this year, or that there is an appearance of any enterprize on the part of the States General againſt him." In the *Depot.*

Notwithſtanding this, Louis, in his letter to Barillon of 24 of June, 1688, writes that he is to keep his ſhips ready. The following paſſage in the letter, marks the vain-glorious character of that monarch. "Et j'ai lui de croire, que le ſeul bruit qui s'en repandra ſera ſuffiſant pour retenir le Prince d'Orange, et l'empecher de rien entreprendre." "And I believe the report of this alone will be ſufficient to reſtrain the Prince of Orange, and prevent him from attempting any thing." In the *Depot.*

The looſeneſs of Albeville's diſpatches were calculated to continue the deception of James and his court. Barillon, on the 2d Auguſt, 1688, writes thus of them: "Il ne me paroit pas que ſa Majeſté Britannique ni ſes principaux miniſtres ſoient fort allarmez des avis de Monſ. le Marquis d'Albeville, n'y en ayant point d'aſſez circonſtantié."—"It does not appear to me that either his Britannick Majeſty or his principal miniſters are much alarmed with the informations of the Marquis of Albeville, none of them being circumſtantiate enough." In the *Depot.*

Even the French court were little ſedulous to let James know all his danger, being probably not unwilling to ſee a family and a civil war among the only powers they had to dread, though little deeming it was to end ſo ſoon. Barillon got no accounts from his court of the extent of the Prince of Orange's preparations

till

till the 12th of Auguſt, when Louis indeed gave him a full detail of them in a letter of that date, and charged him to beg James to prepare himſelf, "Par terre et par mer."—"By land and by ſea."

In the *Depot.*

In the *Depot.*

On the 23d and 26th of Auguſt, 1688, Barillon writes to his court that James is at length come to believe in the Prince of Orange's intentions, and has deſired the French ſhips to be kept ready at Breſt for his aſſiſtance. Yet on the 30th of Auguſt James had been brought back to his original ideas of ſecurity; for Barillon, of that date, writes: Il me dit qu'il avoit encore peine à croire que Monſ. le Prince d'Orange entreprit de faire une deſcente en ce pays ci."—"He (i. e. James) told me that he had ſtill difficulty to believe that the Prince of Orange could attempt making an invaſion upon this country."

In the *Depot.*

On the 2d of September Barillon writes that he had adviſed James to ſend to Ireland for the troops which were there; that James approved, but Sunderland made difficulties. He adds: "Ce miniſtre paroit perſuadé que le Prince d'Orange n'oſera entreprendre une deſcente."—"This miniſter appears perſuaded that the Prince of Orange will not dare to attempt an invaſion."

In the *Depot.*

On the 6th of September Barillon writes thus of the incredulity of James and his court: Sa Majeſté Britannique et ſes principaux miniſtres ne croyent point que Monſ. le Prince d'Orange oſe faire une deſcente en Angleterre."—"His Britannick Majeſty and his principal miniſters do not believe that the Prince of Orange dare make a landing in England."

In this laſt letter Barillon informs Louis the XIVth, that James was willing the Iriſh troops ſhould come; but that Sunderland objected they would alarm England; that they could not arrive in time enough if the Prince ſhould make an attempt; that Ireland ought not to be left defenceleſs, becauſe the Prince perhaps intended to land

land there; and that at any rate the consent of parliament ought to be waited for.

Louis the XIVth being astonished at the slumber of James, sent over Bon Repos, one of his courtiers, on purpose to rouse him to a sense of his danger, to press him to recall his troops from Ireland for his defence, and to offer an instant junction of the French to the English fleet. Barillon writes, on the 9th September, that Bon Repos was arrived, and that the King had accepted the offer of the French fleet, and directed Lord Sunderland to take measures for its junction with his own. In the *Depot.*

Yet, on the 13th of September, James lost again the sense of his danger; for Barillon, of that date, writes: "Sa Majesté Britannique et ses plus confidents ministres ne croyent pas que Monsr. le Prince d'Orange ait dessein de tenter une descente en Angleterre dans la conjoncture presente."——"His Britannick Majesty and his most confidential ministers do not believe that the Prince of Orange has a design to attempt an invasion of England in the present conjuncture."

The following letter from Monsr. Barillon to his court, so late as the 18th of September, shows to what a strange degree King James was fascinated by Lord Sunderland.

Extrait d'une depêche de Mr. Barillon au Roi, 18 Septembre, 1688.

"JE reçus avant hier au soir la depêche de votre Majesté du 13 de ce mois, par un courrier exprés; j'allai à l'instant trouver le Roi d'Angleterre, et lui dis, que sur les derniers avis reçus de Hollande votre Majesté lui avoit voulu donner une nouvelle marque de son amitié, et de la part sincere qu'elle prend à ce qui le touche; que cela l'avoit obligé de depêcher un courrier exprés, qui ne m'avoit rien apporté de nouveau. Le Roi d'Angleterre me temoigna être fort sensible á ce que je lui dis, In the *Depot.*

dis, et ſans entrer en matiere ſur ce qui le regarde, il me demande ce que je ſavois de l'action des troupes de votre Majeſté : je lui dis que votre Majeſté ne m'en mandoit rien, parcequ'il n'y avoit encore rien qu'elle peut ſavoir ; mais que j'avois ordre de lui dire qu'il ſeroit le premier averti de réſolutions que votre Majeſté prendra ſur les mouvemens que feront ſes ennemis. Sa Majeſté entra enſuite dans la diſcuſſion des avis venus d' Hollande, et me dit que dans des affaires ſi importantes il ne falloit rien negliger, mais que ſon opinion n'étoit pas que Mr. le Prince d'Orange oſat entreprendre rien contre l'Angleterre dans la conjoncture préſente ; et qu'il n'y avoit pas apparence qu'il put engager les Etats Géneraux en même tems dans une guerre contre votre Majeſté et contre lui ; que ſon ſentiment même n'étoit pas que les troupes des Etats entrepriſent rien qui peut etre reputé acte d'hoſtilité, et qu' ainſi il ne ſeroit pas impoſſible que la guerre ne ſet fit pas ſitot, quoique les affaires paruſſent fort engagées de part et d'autre.

J'ai eu enſuite un long entretien avec Milord Sonderland ; ſon ſentiment eſt ſemblable à celui du Roi ſon maitre ; ils ne croient ni l'un ni l'autre que Monſr. le Prince d'Orange ait deſſein de faire une deſcente en Angleterre, et ils s'imaginent que s'il la fait, aucun homme qui ait quelque bien ſe déclarera pour lui."

Tranſlation.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, September 18, 1688.—*The King and Lord Sunderland do not believe the Prince of Orange will make an attempt upon England.*

"I RECEIVED the evening before laſt your Majeſty's diſpatch of the 13th of this month by an expreſs; I went that inſtant to the King of England, and told him, that upon the laſt advices received from Holland, your Majeſty had wiſhed to give him a freſh mark of your friendſhip, and of the ſincere part you took in all that concerned him, and that this had obliged you to diſpatch a meſſenger expreſs, but who had brought me no accounts of any thing new. The King of England ſhewed himſelf very ſenſible of what I ſaid to him, and without entering into what regarded himſelf, he aſked me what I knew of the motion of your Majeſty's forces; I told him your Majeſty had written nothing to me about it, becauſe there was nothing which your Majeſty could as yet know; but that I had your orders to tell him he ſhould be the firſt to be informed of the reſolutions which your Majeſty will take upon the motions of your enemies. His Majeſty then entered into a diſcuſſion of the advices come from Holland, and ſaid that in ſuch important affairs nothing ought to be neglected, but that his opinion was the Prince of Orange did not dare to undertake any thing againſt England in the preſent conjuncture; and that there was no appearance he could engage the States General in a war againſt your Majeſty and him at the ſame time; that he even thought the troops of the States would not undertake any thing which might be conſidered as an act of hoſtility; and that therefore it is poſſible the war may not be ſo ſoon, however far advanced the diſputes on both ſides may ſeem.

I had

I had afterwards a long converſation with Lord Sunderland; his way of thinking is the ſame as the King his maſter's; they neither of them believe that the Prince of Orange has any deſign to make a deſcent in England, and they imagine if he does, no man who has any property will declare for him."

In the *Depot.* On the 18th and 23d of September, and the 18th of October, 1688, Barillon writes, that King James was neglecting to ſend for the troops from Ireland.

On the 18th of October Barillon writes, that the troops were at laſt ordered, both from Ireland and Scotland: a period when it is plain their march could only tend to leave theſe countries open, but not to join James in time enough to reſiſt the firſt impreſſions of the Prince of Orange.

In the *Depot.* Barillon writes on the 25th of October, that James laid upon Sunderland's counſels the blame of the diſavowal of d'Avaux's memorial, and the impriſonment of Skelton.

But the groſſeſt of all Sunderland's artifices to deceive his maſter and Barillon, was his making a public profeſſion of the Roman catholic religion, at a time when he knew the Prince of Orange was coming to England to remove all thoſe who profeſſed it, from all objects of ambition. Barillon gives the following account of this matter.

Extrait d' une depêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

Juillet 8, 1688.

In the *Depot.* "MILORD Sonderland s'eſt declaré ouvertement catholique; le Roy d' Angleterre en a temoigné beaucoup de joie, et en a parlé dans un conſeil tenu avec les principaux catholiques, comme d' une choſe utile à ſes affaires, et dont il tirera des avantages pour le ſucces de ſes deſſeins, quoique milord Sonderland fut deja dans le premier poſte, et eut plus de part que perſonne à la confiance du Roy ſon maitre, ce qu'il vient

vient de faire donne encore un nouvel éclat à ſa faveur, et augmente en ce pays cy l'opinion de ſon crédit. Ce miniſtre m'a parlé comme ne deſirant rien d' avantage que de meriter la protection de votre Majeſté, et d'en être aſſuré. Il prétend à cet égard redoubler ſes ſoins et ſon application à faire tout ce qu'il croira pouvoir convenir aux intéreſts de votre Majeſté. Au travers des eſperances que lui donne l' état préſent des affaires par la naiſſance d' une Prince de Galles, il connoit bien que c'eſt toujours beaucoup hazarder pour l' avenir de ſe déclarer catholique dans un pays ou les loix faites contre eux ſubſiſtent encore; mais il a cru de voir cette déclaration premierement à ſa conſcience, ayant été depuis longtems perſuadé que la ſeule veritable religion étoit la catholique; et outre cette conſideration qui a du être la plus forte, il a voulu fermer la bouche à ſes ennemis, et leur ôter tout prétexte de dire qu'il peut entrer quelque menagement dans ſa conduite pour le parti de M. le Prince d'Orange. On parle fort à la cour depuis deux jours de ce qu'a fait milord Sonderland; et on croit que ſa Majeſté Britannique s'en ſervira pour preſſer d' autres gens qui ſont attachés à lui de faire la même choſe. Milord Sonderland n'a point fait de nouvelle abjuration de héréſie, l' ayant faite il y a plus d'un an entre les mains du Pere Pitres."

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.——Lord Sunderland's reaſons for the public declaration of his Popery.

July 8, 1688.

"LORD Sunderland has openly declared himſelf a catholic; the King of England expreſſed a great joy at it, and has ſpoke of it in a council held of the principal catholicks, as a circumſtance uſeful to his affairs, and from which advantages will be drawn for the

the ſucceſs of his deſigns; although Lord Sunderland was already in the firſt employment, and had a greater ſhare than any perſon in his maſter's confidence, what he has done gives ſtill a new luſtre to his favour, and augments in this country the opinion of his credit. This miniſter ſpoke to me as if he deſired nothing more than to deſerve your Majeſty's protection, and to be aſſured of it. Upon this conſideration he propoſes to redouble his care and his application to do whatever he believes may be ſuitable to your Majeſty's intereſts. Notwithſtanding his hopes from the preſent ſtate of affairs by the birth of a Prince of Wales, he well knows, that he riſks much for the future, by declaring himſelf a catholic in a country, where the laws made againſt them are ſtill in being; but he thought he owed the declaration of his religion, firſt to his conſcience, he having been long perſuaded that the only true religion was the catholic; and beſides this conſideration, which ought to be the ſtrongeſt, he was willing to ſhut the mouths of his enemies, and take from them all pretence of ſaying there could be any reſerve in his conduct in favour of the Prince of Orange's party. What Lord Sunderland has done has been much ſpoken of at court theſe two days, and 'tis thought his Britannic Majeſty will make uſe of it to preſs other perſons who are attached to him, to do the ſame thing. Lord Sunderland has made no new abjuration of hereſy, having done it more than a year ago in the preſence of father Petre."

The following paſſage from Lord Dartmouth's notes upon Burnet's hiſtory, gives an inſtance of the affectation of zeal for James by which Lord Sunderland endeavoured to deceive others as well as that Prince. The period to which it relates, is the birth of the Prince of Wales.

"The old Earl of Bradford told me he dined in a great deal of company at the Earl of Sunderland's, who declared publickly, that they were now ſure of their game;

game; for it would be an eaſy matter to have a houſe of commons to their minds, and there was nothing elſe could reſiſt them. Lord Bradford aſked him if they were as ſure of the houſe of lords, for he believed they would meet with more oppoſition there than they expected. Lord Sunderland turned to Lord Churchill who ſat next him, and in a very loud ſhrill voice, cried, O Silly, why your troop of guards ſhall be called to the houſe of lords."

Lord Sunderland concluded all his hypocriſy by pretending to aſk refuge in France, at a time when he had reſolved to take it in Holland.

Barillon writes on the 7th of October, that Sunderland told him he would be ruined if the Prince of Orange ſucceeded; and that he had applied to him for a refuge in France. He writes on the 6th of November, that Sunderland had renewed his application, and that he, Barillon, had promiſed him a retreat in France. In the *Depot.*

But though thoſe around King James were by means of Lord Sunderland's having the command of the foreign correſpondence, kept in the dark as to the preparations of the Prince of Orange, there were not wanting men of honour to warn him of the miſchiefs which his ideas of arbitrary power would bring upon him. Lord Dartmouth's manuſcript notes on Burnet, contain the following paſſage. In the *Depot*

"P. 590. Not long before his (Biſhop Morley's) death (for he then kept his chamber) my father carried me with him to Farnham caſtle. I was not above twelve years old, but remember the Biſhop talked much of the duke, and concluded with deſiring my father to tell him from him, that if ever he depended upon the doctrine of non-reſiſtance he would find himſelf deceived, for there were very few of that opinion, though there were not many of the Church of England that thought proper to contradict it in terms, but was very ſure they would in practice. My father told me he had

frequently put King James in mind of Morley's laſt meſſage to him, though to very little purpoſe: for all the anſwer was, that the biſhop was a very good man, but grown old and timorous."

While tempeſts were on all hands gathering around King James, he intereſted himſelf only in reconciling the King of France with the holy ſee, and in the fate of a war againſt the infidels.

While the Prince of Orange was in the heart of his kingdom, Barillon writes to his court on the 22d of November, that James had ſent for him with joy to inform him of a letter he had received from Lord Thomas Howard, to let him know that the Pope had accepted his mediation in the affair of Franchiſes.

The following letters (except a few already printed concerning the recall of the Dutch troops) are the laſt which King James wrote to the Prince of Orange. They come down ſo low as the 17th of September, and to the end are full of the other folly of a war againſt the infidels. It is obſervable however, of all theſe letters after the Prince's refuſal to part with the Britiſh troops in the Dutch ſervice, that the expreſſion of his aſſurance of kindneſs at the end of the letters is changed. For whereas his former way of giving that aſſurance, was by ſaying he would be as kind to the Prince, "as the Prince could deſire," he now ſays, "as the Prince could expect." The letters are in King William's box.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Deſires peace in Europe.

Whitehall, Jan. 10, 1688.

I Had not yours of the 12th till this day, and know not by what accident thoſe letters which were written the poſt after were here two days ſooner. I ſee you apprehend ſome things which have been tranſacted lately, may

may cauſe trouble in Europe. Nobody deſires more the continuance of the peace than I do. It has been a treaſury day with me, and is now ſo late that I can ſay no more, than that you ſhall ſtill find me as kind to you as you can deſire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—He is againſt peace with the Turks.

Whitehall, April 3, 1688.

"WHEN I came from hunting yeſterday, I received yours of the 7th, and find by it, you have as ill weather, and that the ſpring is as backward with you, as it is here, and had a very cold hunting of it abroad. There is very little news ſtirring here, all things being very quiet, and I hope will continue ſo, not only in this country, but on your ſide of the ſea alſo, I mean in Chriſtendom; for if there ſhould be peace with the Turks, I fear a war would break out in ſome part or other of Europe. I have no more to ſay to you now, but that you ſhall find me as kind as you can expect.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—About the weather and a fruit ſeaſon.

Whitehall, May 11, 1688.

"MY going to Chatham on Tueſday laſt hindered me from writing to you by that day's poſt, to let you know I had received yours of the 11th. I found my ſhips and ſtores in very good condition, and choſe one of the new three rates, to be fitted out to carry the Queen Dowager, when ſhe goes for Portugal. I came back hither yeſterday morning, and found the Queen had not been well, and was in ſome fears of coming before her time, but God be thanked ſhe was very well all day yeſterday, and continues ſo now, ſo that I hope ſhe will go

out her full time. The weather is now very ſeaſonable, and there is like to be great ſtore of fruit this year. I have no more to ſay, but that you ſhall find me as kind to you as you can expect.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Likes the Turkiſh war.

Whitehall, May 15, 1668.

"I Have received yours of the 18th, by the which I find the Earl of Suſſex was gone from the Hague, and had been with you on board the ſhips which were before Scheveling, which muſt needs have been a new and pleaſing ſight to one who lives ſo far from the ſea. I am now ſetting out my ſummer guard, though there will be little for them to do, except the French who are gone, or agoing to Algiers, oblige thoſe people to make peace with them, and then of courſe they muſt fall out with me, though they have already war with you. For my part, I continue ſtill of the mind I was, and will endeavour to ſupport the peace of Chriſtendom, that the Emperor and Venetian may proſecute the war againſt the Turks. I intend to have a camp as uſual at Hounſlow the beginning of next month, which is all I have to ſay, but that you ſhall find me as kind to you as you can expect."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.——An apology for not writing to him.

St. James's, May 19.

"I Am ſo aſhamed to have been ſo long without anſwering your obliging letter, that I know not what to ſay for myſelf. I well believe you know me too well to ſuſpect it want of kindneſs, and therefore I hope you will

will think it as it was, want of time, or at the worſt a little lazineſs, which being confeſſed, I hope will be excuſed, for elſe I did long to return you a thouſand thanks, as I do now for your kind wiſhes, which I hope you will continue, and believe that I am with all ſincerity, truly yours,

M. R."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Common news.

Whitehall, May 29, 1688.

"I Have received yours of the firſt of June, and am of the opinion that the Algerines will not break with me, unleſs they make peace with you, for they do not care to have to do with both of us at once; the Queen Dowager being reſolved not to go for Portugal, will ſave me the charge of a great third rate I was fitting out for her, and the continuing out of ſome other ſhips longer than I had at firſt deſigned them. The Queen was let blood this morning, having a great cold and being ſomewhat feveriſh; ſhe is now better than ſhe was, and I hope will be quite well to-morrow. I have not time to ſay more, but that you ſhall find me as kind to you as you can expect.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious about the Turkiſh war.

"I Have had yours of the 11th, and am afraid that the death of the Elector of Cologne, may in time cauſe ſome diſturbance. I ſhould be glad it did not, being ſtill deſirous there ſhould be no war amongſt Chriſtians. And by letters of the 2d of May, from my ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, I am informed that the Turk can have no conſiderable army in the field this year, by reaſon of the great diſorders they have had amongſt themſelves; ſo that the Imperialiſts have a fair opportunity of taking

Belgrade this ſummer. I intended to have ſaid more, but it is ſo late that I cannot, and ſo muſt end, which I do with aſſuring you of my being as kind to you as you can expect.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—The Prince of Wales born.——The Turkiſh and Algerine war.

St. James's, June 12, 1688.

"THE Queen was, God be thanked, ſafely delivered of a ſonne on Sunday morning a little before ten; ſhe has been very well ever ſince, but the child was ſomewhat ill this laſt night of the wind and ſome gripes, but is now, bleſſed be God, very well again, and like to have no returns of it, and is a very ſtrong boy. Laſt night I received yours of the 18th, and hope by this the campaign is well begun towards Belgrade. I expect every day to hear what the French fleet has done at Algiers, having heard they were juſt arrived before that place. 'Tis late, and I have not time to ſay more, but that you ſhall find me to be as kind to you as you can expect.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange —Sorry for the ſlowneſs of the Turkiſh war.

St. James's, July 13, 1688.

"I HAVE had yours of the 13th, and am ſorry things go on ſo ſlowly in Hungary; the Duke of Lorraine's having been indiſpoſed has been very advantageous to the Turk. I came back laſt night from Windſor, after having hunted there. This next week I intend to go down to the buoy of the Nore, to ſee the ſmall ſquadron of ſhips I have out, having ordered them to come thither for that purpoſe; and about the 24th

of

of this month, intend for Windſor, to ſtay there the remaining part of the ſummer. My troops are ſtill encamped at Hounſlow. When Mr. Zuliſten goes back he will give you an account of them. I have not time to ſay more, but that you ſhall find me as kind to you as you have reaſon to expect."

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.——A dry anſwer to the Prince's congratulation on the birth of the young Prince.

St. James's, July 22d, 1688.

"I HAVE had yours by M. Zuleſtein, and who has, as well as your letter, aſſured me of the part you take on the birth of my ſon; and would not let him return without writing to you by him, to aſſure you I ſhall always be as kind to you as you can with reaſon expect."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.——On the ſame ſubject.

St. James's, July 24th, 1688.

"THE compliments Mr. Zuliſtein made me from you, and the letter he brought me are ſo obliging, that I know not which way to begin to give you thanks for it. I hope he will help me to aſſure you that I am very ſenſible of it, and that I eſteem and deſire nothing more than the continuance of your friendſhip, which I am ſure ſhall always deſerve one way mine, by being with all the ſincerity imaginable truly yours.

M. R."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—The Turkiſh war.

Windſor, Auguſt 31, 1688.

"I HAVE received yours of the 30th from Loo, and by it find you had had the good news of the Elector of Bavaria's having paſſed the Sane, and, I hope, the next letters from that army will bring the news of the taking of Belgrade. When the Emperor is once maſter of that place and Gradiſca, he will have a very good frontier towards the Turks. This place of itſelf affords little news, for 'tis none now to tell you when the parliament is to meet, and till then we are to expect what news we have from your ſide of the water. I ſhall now ſay no more, but that you ſhall find me as kind to you as you can expect.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James's laſt letter to the Prince of Orange.——The ſame ſubject.

Windſor, September 17, 1668.

I HAVE received yours of the 17th from the Hague, by which I find you were come back thither from a voyage you had made into Germany, to ſpeak with ſome of the Princes there. I was very glad to hear, by an expreſs which came to the Spaniſh ambaſſador here, of the taking of Belgrade, which, with the taking of Gradiſka, will ſecure the Emperor's conqueſts in thoſe parts. I am ſorry there is ſo much likelihood of war upon the Reyn; nobody wiſhing more the peace of Chriſtendom than myſelf. I intend to go to-morrow to London, and the next day to Chatham, to ſee the condition of the new batteries I have made in the Medway, and my ſhips which are there. The Queen and my ſonne are to be at London on Thurſday, which is all I ſhall

I ſhall ſay, but that you ſhall find me as kind to you as you can expect.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange.

James's diſavowal of d'Avaux's memorial at the Hague, and the impriſonment of Skelton, who had ſuggeſted it, provoked the pride of Louis, and he left James to his fate. The following letter from Louis to Barillon, both ſhews his pique, and gives full evidence that there was no formal treaty between Louis and James.

Lettere du Roy à Mr. Barillon, Septembre 30, 1688.

"MONS. Barillon, votre lettre du 23me de ce mois m'informe des précautions que le Roy d'Angleterre prend pour ſe garantir d'une deſcente du Prince d'Orange en Angleterre; et je ſuis bien aiſe d'apprendre qu'il ne nęglige rien pour faire repentir ce Prince d'une ſi injuſte entrepriſe; mais je ſuis d'autant plus ſurpris de toutes les demarches que le dit Roy fait à Londres et la Haye pour faire voir qu'il n'a aucune part à la declaration que le Sieur d'Avaux a faite par mes ordres aux Etats Generaux. Il ne doit pas douter que ſi quelque choſe eſt capable de détourner le Prince d'Orange de paſſer en Angleterre, c'eſt l'intereſt que je temoigne prendre à tout ce qui regarde le dit Roy; et qu'encore qu'il n'y ait pas de traité de ſigné entre moi et lui, neanmoins les liaiſons de convenance en ont formé depuis ſon avénement à la couronne une plus étroite que ſi elle avpit été ſtipulée par un traité ſolemnel; et d'ailleurs quelque moyen que j'aie de repouſſer par mes ſeules forces tous mes ennemis, je ſerai toujours bien aiſe que les Princes qui auront quelqu' affection pour ma couronne déclarent la guerre à mes ennemis ſans que je les en recherche; en fin de quelque côte qu'on examine les déclarations que le Roy d'Angleterre a faites ſur ce ſujet aux Etats Généraux, on y reconnoitra toujours

In the *Depot.*

jours une foibleſſe capable d'encourager le Prince d'Orange dans ſes pernicieux deſſeins.

J'approuve auſſi la maniere dont vous avez parlé au Roy d'Angleterre, et au Comte Sonderland touchant le rappel du Sieur Skelton; cet envoyé méritoit plutot une recompenſe qu'une diſgrace auſſi éclatante que celle d'un ſi prompt retour en Angleterre pour y aller rendre compte de ſes actions. Sur ce, &c."

Tranſlation.

Letter from Louis the XIVth to Mr. Barillon.—Is piqued by James's diſavowing d'Avaux's memorial.——No formal treaty between James and Louis.

September 30, 1688.

"MR. Barillon, Your letter of the 23d of this month informs me of the precautions the King of England takes to guard himſelf againſt an invaſion by the Prince of Orange in England; and I am very glad to learn that he neglects nothing to make that Prince repent of ſo unjuſt an enterprize; but I am, on that account, the more ſurpriſed at all the ſtep the ſaid King takes at London and the Hague, to ſhew that he had no part in the declaration which the Sieur d'Avaux made by my orders to the States General. He ought not to doubt that if any thing is capable to divert the Prince of Orange from paſſing into England, it is the intereſt which I ſhew I take in all that regards the ſaid King; and though there is no treaty ſigned between me and him, nevertheleſs the ties of agreement ſince his coming to the throne, have formed a more ſtrict one than if ſtipulated by a formal treaty; and moreover, whatever means I may have to repel, with my forces alone, all my enemies, I ſhall always be very glad that the Princes who have any affection for my crown, ſhould ſhew hoſtility to my enemies without my aſking it of them; in ſhort, in whatever light the declarations which the King of England has made to the States General are examined,

examined, there will always be found a weakneſs capable of encouraging the Prince of Orange in his firſt deſigns.

I approve alſo of the manner in which you have talked to the King of England and the Earl of Sunderland concerning the recall of Mr. Skelton; this Envoy rather deſerves a recompence, than a diſgrace ſo public as that of being obliged to return immediately to England to give an account of his actions."

King James to his dying hour complained of his enemies for alledging that there was a formal treaty between him and France, and aſſumed merit from his innocence of the charge: a ſtrong inſtance how the mind of man may impoſe upon itſelf. Many papers in this Appendix ſhew that the connection was ſtricter between him and Louis than any formal treaty could create; and the words of Louis in this laſt letter, prove that Louis thought ſo.

Amongſt Lord Dartmouth's notes on Biſhop Burnet's hiſtory there is the following one.

Page 783. "The Duke of Chandos told me, as a thing he knew to be true, that the King of France wrote to King James to let him know that he had certain intelligence that the deſign was upon England, and that he would immediately beſiege Maſtrick, which would hinder the States from parting with any of their forces for ſuch an expedition, but the ſecret muſt be kept inviolable from any of the miniſters. Soon after the States ordered ſix thouſand men to be ſent to Maſtrick, upon which the King of France deſired to know of King James if he had revealed it to any body, for he himſelf had to none but Louvois, and if he had betrayed him ſhould treat him accordingly. King James's anſwer was, that he never told it to any body but Lord Sunderland, who he was very ſure was too much in his intereſt to have diſcovered it. Upon which the King of France ſaid, he ſaw plainly that King James was a man cut out for deſtruction, and there was no poſſibility of helping him."

The

The Earl of Hardwicke was ſo obliging as to give me the following curious notes from the Princeſs Anne's letters to her ſiſter, which were taken from the originals by the late Doctor Birch.

Doctor Birch's notes from the Princeſs Anne's letters to her Siſter.

Cockpit, Dec. 29, 1687.

"SORRY people have taken ſuch pains to give ſo ill a character of Lady Churchill: ... I believe there is nobody in the world has better notions of religion than ſhe has. It is true, ſhe is not ſo ſtrict as ſome are, nor does not keep ſuch a buſtle with religion; which I confeſs, I think, is never the worſe, for one ſees ſo many ſaints meer devils, that if one be a good Chriſtian, the leſs ſhew one makes, it is the better in my opinion. Then, as for moral principles, it is impoſſible to have better; and without that, all the lifting up of hands and eyes, and going often to church, will prove but a very lame devotion. One thing more I muſt ſay for her, which is, that ſhe has a true ſenſe of the doctrine of our church, and abhors all the principles of the church of Rome; ſo that as to this particular, I aſſure you ſhe will never change. The ſame thing, I will venture, now I am on this ſubject, to ſay for her Lord; for though he is a very faithful ſervant to the King, and that the King is very kind to him, and, I believe, he will always obey the King in all things that are conſiſtent with religion; yet rather than change that, I dare ſay, he will loſe all his places, and all that he has.

K. once talks to her upon religion, upon occaſion of her talking to ſome lady, or looking another way, when a prieſt ſaid grace at the King's table.

Report

Report of Lord Treaſurer's being to be put out of his place. The King tells her that this morning.

Lord Treaſurer told me the other day, the King commanded him to hear a diſpute; and that he heard one between two of their prieſts, and Dr. Jane and Dr. Patrick of our ſide; and by it, that he was the more confirmed of the truth of our religion.

January 10, 1687-8

"AFRAID to ſend a letter by Mr. d'Albeville, he having always had a very odd character. ——He has always been counted a ſpy, that you may have a care of him.

Lady Tyrconnel is going to-morrow.

Very ſorry that the King encourages people of that religion ſo much.

Lord Clarendon, as to his own affairs, has been a very ill manager, which I cannot help being ſorry for on my mother's account; for as for himſelf, he has not behaved himſelf ſo well to me as I think he had reaſon, nor no more indeed has any of that family, which one may think a little extraordinary.

Cockpit, Jan. 31, 1687-8

"I AM ſorry the King encourages the Papiſts ſo much; and I think it is very much to be feared, that the deſire the King has to take off the Teſt, and all other laws againſt them, is only a pretence to bring in Popery.

I am ſorry the King relies ſo much upon Lord Sunderland and Lord Godolphin; for every body knows, that once they were as great enemies as any he had, and their own hearts can only tell what converts they are. As for the firſt of them, by all outward appearance, he muſt be a great knave (if I may uſe that expreſſion of a miniſter) for he goes on fiercely for the intereſts of the Papiſts, and yet goes to no church, and has made no public declaration of his religion, whatever

whatever it is. I fear he has not much of any. All we can do in theſe matters, is to pray to God to open the King's eyes, and to order all things for the beſt, that this poor nation may not be overthrown by Popery.

The Cockpit, March 13, 1687-8.

"THIS letter going by ſure hands, I will now venture to write my mind very freely to you.

Denied the ſatisfaction of ſeeing her ſiſter this ſpring, though the King gave her leave when ſhe firſt aſked it. Imputes this to Lord Sunderland, for the King truſts him with every thing; and he going on ſo fiercely for the intereſt of the Papiſts, is afraid you ſhould be told a true character of him.

You may remember, I have once before ventured to tell you, that I thought Lord Sunderland a very ill man, and I am more confirmed every day in that opinion. Every body knows how often this man turned backward and forwards in the late King's time; and now, to complete all his virtues, he is working with all his might to bring in Popery. He is perpetually with the prieſts, and ſtirs up the King to do things faſter than I believe he would of himſelf. Things are come to that paſs now, that, if they go on ſo much longer, I believe, in a little while, no proteſtant will be able to live here.

The King has never ſaid a word to me about religion ſince the time I told you of; but I expect every minute, and am reſolved to undergo any thing rather than change my religion. Nay, if it ſhould come to ſuch extremities, I will chuſe to live on alms rather than change.

This worthy Lord does not go publicly to maſs, but hears it privately at a prieſt's chamber, and never lets any body be there, but a ſervant of his.

His lady too, is as extraordinary in her kind; for ſhe is a flattering, diſſembling, falſe woman; but ſhe has ſo fawning and endearing a way, that ſhe will deceive

ceive any body at firſt, and it is not poſſible to find out all her ways in a little time. She cares not at what rate ſhe lives, but never pays any body. She will cheat, though it be for a little. Then ſhe has had her gallants, though may be not ſo many as ſome ladies here; and with all theſe good qualities, ſhe is a conſtant church woman; ſo that to outward appearance one would take her for a ſaint, and to hear her talk, you would think ſhe were a very good Proteſtant; but ſhe is as much one as the other; for it is certain that her Lord does nothing without her.

. . . One thing there is, which I forgot to tell you, about this noble Lord, which is, that it is thought, if every thing does not go as he would have it, that he will pick a quarrel with the court, and ſo retire, and by that means it is poſſible he will think he makes his court to you.

There is one thing about yourſelf, which I cannot help giving my opinion in, which is, that if the King ſhould deſire you and the Prince of Orange to come over to make him a viſit, I think it would be better (if you can make any handſome excuſe) not to do it; for though I dare ſwear the King could have no thought againſt either of you, yet ſince people can ſay one thing, and do another, one cannot help being afraid; if either of you ſhould come, I ſhould be very glad to ſee you; but really if you or the Prince ſhould come, I ſhould be frightened out of my wits for fear any harm ſhould happen to either of you."

The Cockpit, March 14, 1687-8.

"I Cannot help thinking Manſell's Wife's (i. e. the Queen) great belly is a little ſuſpicious. It is true indeed, ſhe is very big, but ſhe looks better than ever ſhe did, which is not uſual; for people when they are ſo far gone, for the moſt part, look very ill: beſides, 'tis very odd, that the Bath, that all the beſt Doctors

tors thought would do her a great deal of harm, ſhould have had ſo very good effect ſo ſoon, as that ſhe ſhould prove with child from the firſt minute ſhe and Manſell met, after her coming from thence. Her being ſo poſitive it will be a ſon, and the principles of that religion being ſuch, that they will ſtick at nothing, be it never ſo wicked, if it will promote their intereſt, give ſome cauſe to fear there may be foul play intended. I will do all I can to find it out, if it be ſo; and if I ſhould make any diſcovery, you ſhall be ſure to have an account of it."

The Cockpit, March 20, 1687-8.

"I Hope you will inſtruct Bentley, what you would have your friends to do, if any alteration ſhould come, as it is to be feared there will, eſpecially if Manſell has a ſon, which I conclude he will, there being ſo much reaſon to believe it is a falſe belly. For methinks, if it were not, there having been ſo many ſtories and jeſts made about it, ſhe ſhould, to convince the world, make either me, or ſome of my friends feel her belly; but quite contrary, whenever one talks of her being with child, ſhe looks as if ſhe were afraid one ſhould touch her. And whenever I have happened to be in the room, as ſhe has been undreſſing, ſhe has always gone in the next room, to put on her ſmock. Theſe things give me ſo much juſt cauſe of the ſuſpicion, that I believe, when ſhe is brought to bed, nobody will be convinced 'tis her child, except it prove a daughter. For my part, I declare I ſhall not, except I ſee the child and ſhe parted.

I can't end my letter without telling you, that Rogers's wife (i. e. Lady Sunderland) plays the hypocrite more than ever; for ſhe goes to St. Martin's, morning and afternoon (becauſe there are not people enough to ſee her at Whitehall chapel), and is half an hour before other people come, and half an hour after every body is gone, at her private devotions. She runs from church

to

to church after the famouſeſt preachers, and keeps ſuch a clatter with her devotions, that it really turns one's ſtomach. Sure there never was a couple ſo well matched, as ſhe and her good huſband; for as ſhe is throughout in all her actions the greateſt jade that ever was, ſo is he the ſubtilleſt workingeſt villain, that is on the face of the earth."

The Cockpit, March 26, 1688.

King angry with the Princeſs of Orange for having taken Lord Coote into her family.

Richmond, April 11, 1688.

Account of her manner of life.

The Cockpit, April 29, 1688.

Firmneſs to her religion.

"I Abhor the principles of the Church of Rome as much as it is poſſible for any to do, and I as much value the doctrine of the Church of England. And certainly there is the greateſt reaſon in the world to do ſo, for the doctrine of the Church of Rome is wicked and dangerous, and directly contrary to the Scriptures; and their ceremonies, moſt of them, plain downright idolatry."

Richmond, May 9, 1688.

"UPON the King's proceedings againſt the Univerſity of Cambridge. By this, one may eaſily gueſs, what one is to hope for henceforward—ſince the prieſts have ſo much power with the King to make him do things ſo directly againſt the laws of the land, and indeed contrary to his own promiſes. It is a melancholy proſpect that all we of the Church of England have. All the ſectaries may now do what they pleaſe. Every one has the free exerciſe of their religion, on

purpoſe, no doubt, to ruin us, which, I think, to all impartial judges is very plain. For my part, I expect every minute to be ſpoke to, about my religion, and wonder very much I have heard nothing of it yet.

. . . This laſt honour the King has conferred on Lord Sunderland, will, I doubt not, make him drive on our deſtruction with more haſte. His Lady too, is now in all appearance like to be a favourite with the Queen; for now, that Lady Rocheſter is dead, there is nobody to put the Queen in mind, often, how ill a woman Lady Sunderland is. Though the Queen of late had no good opinion of Lady Rocheſter; yet the truth ſhe told of Lady Sunderland, did certainly keep her from growing great with the Queen while ſhe lived. But now ſhe is dead, Lady Sunderland, what with her fawning inſinuating way, and the court her Lord makes to the Queen, is to be feared will grow in great favour; and then no doubt ſhe will play the devil, for ſhe has no religion, though ſhe pretends to a great deal; and ſo ſhe is great, ſhe cares not who ſhe ruins. And to ſay truth, ſhe does not want wit or cunning, and that with her ill-nature together, may make her capable of doing a great deal of miſchief. The Queen, you muſt know, is of a very proud haughty humour; and though ſhe pretends to hate all form and ceremony, yet one ſees, that thoſe that make their court that way, are very well thought of. She declares always, that ſhe loves ſincerity, and hates flattery; but when the groſſeſt flattery in the world is ſaid to her face, ſhe ſeems extremely well pleaſed with it. It really is enough to turn one's ſtomach, to hear what things are ſaid to her of that kind, and to ſee how mightily ſhe is ſatisfied with it. All theſe ways Lady Sunderland has in perfection, to make her court to her. She is now much oftner with the Queen than ſhe uſed to be.

It is a ſad, and a very uneaſy thing to be forced to live civilly, and as it were freely, with a woman that one knows hates one, and does all ſhe can to undo every body; which ſhe certainly does.

One

One thing, I muſt ſay of the Queen, which is, that ſhe is the moſt hated in the world of all ſorts of people; for every body believes, that ſhe preſſes the King to be more violent than he would be of himſelf; which is not unlikely; for ſhe is a very great bigot in her way; and one may ſee by her, that ſhe hates all Proteſtants. All Ladies of quality ſay, ſhe is ſo proud, that they don't care to come oftener than they muſt needs, juſt out of mere duty. And indeed, ſhe has not ſo great a court, as ſhe uſed to have. She pretends to have a great deal of kindneſs for me; but I doubt it is not real; for I never ſee proofs of it, but rather the contrary.

Apprehends that the King will ſpeak to her about religion, when the Prince goes to Denmark at the end of the month."

The Cockpit, June 18, 1688.

"MY dear ſiſter can't imagine the concern and vexation I have been in, that I ſhould be ſo unfortunate to be out of town when the Queen was brought to bed, for I ſhall never now be ſatisfied, whether the child be true or falſe. It may be it is our brother, but God only knows, for ſhe never took care to ſatisfy the world, or give people any demonſtration of it. It is wonderful, if ſhe had really been with child, that nobody was ſuffered to feel it ſtir, but Madam Mazarin, and lady Sunderland, who are people that nobody will give credit to. If out of her pride, ſhe would not have let me touch her, methinks it would have been very natural for her ſometimes, when ſhe has been undreſſing, to have let Mrs. Roberts, as it were by chance have ſeen her belly; but inſtead of endeavouring to give one any ſatisfaction, ſhe has always been very ſhy both to her and me. The great buſtle that was made about her lying in at Windſor, and then reſolving all of a ſudden to go to St. James's, which is much the propereſt place to act ſuch a cheat in; and Mr. Turone's lying in the bed-chamber that night ſhe fell in labour, and none of the family beſides being

removed from Whitehall, are things, that give one great cauſe to be ſuſpicious. But that, which to me ſeems the plaineſt thing in the world is, her being brought to bed two days after ſhe heard of my coming to town, and ſaying that the child was come at the full time, when every body knows, by her own reckoning, that ſhe ſhould have gone a month longer. After all this, 'tis poſſible it may be her child; but where one believes it, a thouſand do not. For my part, except they do give very plain demonſtrations, which is almoſt impoſſible now, I ſhall ever be of the number of unbelievers. I don't find that people are at all diſheartened, but ſeem all of a mind, which is a very comfortable thing at ſuch a time as this.

All the time the biſhops were in the Tower, every body flocked to ſee them; and there was great joy at their coming out. As many Lords as could without falling into a premunire, intended to petition the King, but their not having done it yet, makes me fear they will ſtay till 'tis too late. One cannot help having a thouſand fears and melancholy thoughts; but whatever changes may happen, you ſhall ever find me firm to my religion, and faithfully yours."

Windſor, June 22, 1688.

"HAving heard, that in Scotland every body has taken new commiſſions for their places, without taking the Teſt, and thinking it of very great conſequence, becauſe all that has been done there, has been but a fore-runner of what in a ſhort time has been done here, I thought myſelf obliged to ſend one a purpoſe to give you notice of it, as ſoon as it was poſſible, that you may, if you can, do ſomething to put a ſtop to it, before it is gone too far; for I am wholly of your mind, that in taking away the Teſt, and Penal laws, they take away our religion; and if that be done, farewell all happineſs; for when once the Papiſts have every thing in their hands, all we poor Proteſtants have but diſmal times to hope for. Though we agree in

theſe

theſe matters, yet I can't help fearing, that you are not of my opinion in other things, becauſe you never anſwered me to any thing that I have ſaid of Rogers, nor of Manſell's wife."

The Cockpit, July 9, 1688.

"THE Prince of Wales has been ill theſe three or four days; and if he has been ſo bad as ſome people ſay, I believe it will not be long before he is an angel in heaven.

You will not have many more letters from me, from hence, this ſummer; for I intend next week, an it pleaſe God, to go to Tunbridge, which the doctors tell me is the beſt thing I can do to hinder me from miſcarrying, when I am with child again. I confeſs I am very glad I am adviſed to go thither, for it is very uneaſy to me to be with people, that every moment of one's life one muſt be diſſembling with, and put on a face of joy, when one's heart has more cauſe to ake; and the Papiſts are all ſo very inſolent, that it is inſupportable living with them. There is no remedy but patience; but you may eaſily imagine, that as the world goes now, to a ſincere mind, the court muſt be very diſagreeable.

This going with the packet-boat, I ſhall not write to you, by to-morrow's poſt.

Queſtions ſent by the Princeſs of Orange, to the Princeſs Ann of Denmark.

July 21, 1688.

"1. WHether the Queen deſired at any time any of the Ladies, in particular the Princeſs of Denmark, to feel her belly, ſince ſhe thought herſelf quick; and who thoſe ladies are; and when that was, whether in the beginning of her being quick, or of late?

2. Whether

2. Whether the milk that, as is ſaid, was in the Queen's breaſts, was ſeen by many, or conducted in a myſtery?

3. Whether the aſtringents, that the Queen is ſaid to have taken, were taken by her openly, or if a myſtery was made of that?

4. Whether the treating of the Queen's breaſts for drawing back the milk, and the giving her clean linen, has been managed openly, or myſteriouſly?

5. At what hour did the Queen's labour begin?

6. At what hour was the notice of it ſent to the King? Whether the King did not lie at St. James's, or with the Queen that night; or if he was gone back to Whitehall?

7. Whether upon ſending to the King, the thing was let fly over St. James's and Whitehall; or if the notice was ſent ſecretly to the King?

8. Whether did the King ſend about for the privy counſellors; or if he took thoſe that were by accident at Whitehall?

9. At what time came the King with the council into the Queen's chamber?

10. Whether was there a ſcreen at the foot of the bed, between it and the reſt of the room, or not?

11. Whether did any women, beſides the confidents, ſee the Queen's face when ſhe was in labour? And whether ſhe had the looks of a woman in labour? Who was in the room, both men and women? What time they came in, and how near they ſtood?

12. How long was the King talking to the privy counſellors, after the child was carried into the next room, before he went to look upon it? and in this, as well as in the other queſtions, relating to the point of time, a critical anſwer, as near to a minute as it is poſſible, is deſired.

13. What women, of one ſort or other, were preſent? And if no woman was called in to hold the Queen?

14. Were

14. Were no Ladies ſent for? or who were ſent for? and at what time the meſſage was ſent to the Queen Dowager? Alſo at what time ſhe came?

15. Whether in any former labour the Queen was delivered ſo myſteriouſly, ſo ſuddenly, and ſo few being called for?

16. If many obſerved the child's limbs being ſlender at firſt, and their appearing all of a ſudden to be round and full?

17. Is the Queen fond of it?

18. How Mrs. Dawſon, Mrs. Bromley ſtands with the Queen? Which of her bed-chamber women are moſt in favour?

Ad. 12. Who took the child, when it was born?

Ad. 13. If the King did not uſe to be nearer the bed, and hold the Queen in former labours?

Ad. 16. If every body is permitted to ſee the child at all hours, dreſſed and undreſſed?

Ad. 16. Who is about it, rockers and dry nurſe?

Ad. 3. What doctors were conſulted about the Queen, before, and ſince her being at the Bath. Whether Doctor Waldgrave alone, or others with him, knew the particulars of her condition, all along."

The Princeſs Anne of Denmark's anſwer.

The Cockpit, July 24, 1688.

"I Received yeſterday, yours of the 19th, by which I find you are not ſatisfied with the account I have given you in my laſt letter; but I hope you will forgive my being no more particular, when you conſider, that not being upon the place, all I could know, muſt be from others; and having then been but a few days in town, I had not time to enquire ſo narrowly into things, as I have ſince; but before I ſay any more, I can't help telling you, I am very ſorry you ſhould think I would be negligent in letting you know thir gs of

any conſequence. For though I am generally lazy; and it is true indeed, when I write by the poſt, for the moſt part, I make thoſe letters very ſhort, not daring to tell you any news by it; and being very ill at invention, yet I hope you will forgive my being lazy, when I write ſuch letters, ſince I have never miſſed any opportunity of giving you all the intelligence I am able; and pray be not ſo unjuſt to believe I can think the doing any thing you can deſire, any trouble; for certainly I would do a great deal more for you, if it lay in my power, than the anſwering your queſtions, which I ſhall do now as exactly as you deſire.

1. I never heard any body ſay they felt the child ſtir; but I am told Lady Sunderland, and Madam Mazarin ſay they felt it at the beginning. Mrs. Dawſon tells me ſhe has ſeen it ſtir, but never felt it.

2. I never ſaw any milk; but Mrs. Dawſon ſays ſhe has ſeen it upon her ſmock, and that it began to run at the ſame time it uſed to do of her other children.

3. For what they call reſtringing draughts, I ſaw her drink two of them; and I don't doubt but ſhe drank them frequently and publicly before her going to the Bath. Dr. Waldgrave was very earneſt with Sir Charles Scarburgh, to be for her going thither; but he was ſo fierce againſt it, that there was another conſultation of doctors called, Sir Charles Scarburgh, Dr. Waldgrave, Wetherby, Brady, and Brown. After that, there was only Sir Charles Scarburgh and Dr. Waldgrae, and for the firſt I believe he knew but little) excepting once, when ſhe was to be let blood, and when ſhe was to have gone to Windſor. Then ſome of the others were called in to give their opinions.

4. All I can ſay in this article is, that once in diſcourſe, Mrs. Bromley told Mrs. Roberts, one day Rogers's daughter came into the room, when Mrs. Manſell was putting off her clouts, and ſhe was very angry at it, becauſe ſhe did not care to be ſeen when ſhe was ſhifting.

5. She fell in labour about eight o'clock.

6. She

6. She ſent for the King at that time, who had been up a quarter of an hour, having lain with her that night, and was then dreſſing.

7. As ſoon as the King came, he ſent for the Queen Dowager, and all the council. After that, it was known all over St. James's.

8. Moſt of the other men, I ſuppoſe, that were there, was at the King's riſing.

9. They came into the room preſently after the Queen dowager came, which is about half an hour before ſhe was brought to bed.

10. There was no ſcreen. She was brought to bed in the bed ſhe lay in all night, and in the great bed-chamber, as ſhe was of her laſt child.

11. The feet curtains of the bed were drawn, and the two ſides were open. When ſhe was in great pain, the King called in haſte for my Lord Chancellor, who came up to the bed-ſide to ſhew he was there; upon which the reſt of the privy counſellors did the ſame thing. Then the Queen deſired the King to hide her face with his head and periwig, which he did, for ſhe ſaid ſhe could not be brought to bed and have ſo many men look on her; for all the council ſtood cloſe at the bed's feet, and Lord Chancellor upon the ſtep.

12. As ſoon as the child was born, the midwife cut the navel-ſtring, becauſe the after-burthen did not follow quickly; and then ſhe gave it to Mrs. Labadie, who, as ſhe was going by the bed-ſide, croſs the ſtep, to carry it into the little bed-chamber, the King ſtopt her, and ſaid to the privy-counſellors, that they were witneſſes there was a child born, and bid them follow it into the next room and ſee what it was, which they all did; for till after they came out again, it was not declared what it was; but the midwife had only given a ſign that it was a ſon, which is what had been done before.

13. When the Queen Dowager firſt came into the room ſhe went up to the bed-ſide, but after that ſtood all the while by the clock. There was in the room Lord Chancellor,

Chancellor, Lord Prefident, Lord Privy Seal, the two Chamberlains, Lord Middleton, Lord Cran , Lord Huntingdon, Lord Powis, Lord Dover, Lord Peterborough, Lord Melfort, Lord Dartmouth, Sir John Ernley, Lord Preſton, Sir Nicholas Butler, Duke of Beaufort, Lord Berkeley, Lord Murray, Lord Caſtlemain; theſe were of the council: And for others, there was Lord Feverſham, Lord Arran, Sir St. Fox, and Mr. Griffin, beſides pages of the back-ſtairs and Prieſts. The women that were there, were Lady Peterborough, Lady Bellaſis, Lady Arran, Lady Tyrconnel, Lady Roſcommon, Lady S. Buckley, Lady Fingal, Madam Mazarin, Madam Bouillon, Lady Powis, Lady Strickland, Lady C , Mrs. Cran, two of the Queen Dowager's Portugueſes, Mrs. Bromley, Mrs. Dawſon, Mrs. Waldgrave, Lady Wentworth, and Mrs. Feraine. All theſe ſtood as near as they could. Lady Bellaſis gave the midwife the receiver, and Mrs. Dawſon ſtood behind a Dutch chair that the midwife ſat upon to do her work All the time the child was parted, I do not hear of any body that held the Queen except the King, and he was upon the bed by her all the while.

14. I don't hear that any Ladies were ſent for but the Queen's own, and they were called preſently after the Queen Dowager. She came a quarter after nine: Where ſhe ſtood, and at what time ſhe was ſent for, I have already told you.

15. Her labour never uſed to be ſo long.

16. I never heard what you ſay of the child's limbs. As for ſeeing it dreſt or undreſt, they avoid it as much as they can. By all I have ſeen and heard, ſometimes they refuſe almoſt every body to ſee it; that is, when they ſay it is not well; and methinks there is always a myſtery in it, for one does not know whether it be really ſick, and they fear one ſhould know it, or whether it is well, and they would have one think it is ſick, as the other children uſed to be. In ſhort, it is not very clear any thing they do; and for the ſervants, from the higheſt to the loweſt, they are all papiſts.

17. The

17. The Queen forbid Lady Powis to bring the child to her before any company; but that, they ſay, ſhe uſed to do to her other children. I dined there the other day, when it was ſaid it had been very ill of a looſeneſs, and it really looked ſo; yet when ſhe came from prayers ſhe went to dinner without ſeeing it, and after that played at comet, and did not go to it till ſhe was put out of the pool.

18. I believe none of the bed-chamber women have any credit with the Queen but Mrs. Tureine; but they ſay Mrs. Bromley has an intereſt with the King.

I am going to Tunbridge; but if I was to ſtay here I could not watch the child, for it is to be at Richmond. Lady Churchill does not go with me at firſt, and as long as ſhe ſtays here I am ſure ſhe will do all in her power to give you and I an account if any thing happens that is worth knowing.

I have done my endeavour to inform myſelf of every thing; for I have ſpoke with Mrs. Dawſon, and aſked her all the queſtions I could think of: for not being in the room when the Queen was brought to bed, one muſt enquire of ſomebody that was there; and I thought ſhe could tell me as much as any body, and would be leſs likely to ſpeak of it; and I took all the care I could, when I ſpoke to her, to do it in ſuch a manner that I might know every thing; and in caſe ſhe ſhould betray me, that the King and Queen might not be angry with me.

It was ſhe that told me what I have ſaid in the 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, and 15th Articles. She told me, beſides, that when ſhe came to the Queen, ſhe found Mrs. Tureine and the midwife with her. All that ſhe ſays ſeems very clear; but one does not know what to think; for methinks it is wonderful if it is no cheat, that they never took pains to convince me of it.

I hope I have anſwered your letter as fully as you deſire; if there be any thing elſe you would know, pray tell me by the firſt ſafe hand, and you ſhall always find me

me very diligent in obeying you, and ſhewing by my actions how real and ſincere my kindneſs is.

One thing I had forgot, which is, that the laſt time ſhe was brought to bed, the reaſon of her being delivered in the great bed was becauſe ſhe was catched; and this time, Mrs. Dawſon ſays, though the pallet was up, the Queen would not go into it becauſe the quilts were not aired."

Windſor, Aug. 18, 1688.

"I AM in as great expectation of being tormented as ever, for I can never believe that Manſel would go on ſo violently, if he had not ſome hopes that in time he may gain either you or me."

In the *Depot.*

The Princeſs Anne, in the above letter, of 13 March, 1688, mentions a viſit ſhe intended to have paid her ſiſter in the ſpring of that year. Barillon writes to Louis the XIVth, on the 13th of March, 1688, that Prince George had applied to King James for leave to go to Denmark, and that the Princeſs ſhould in the mean time pay a viſit to her ſiſter in Holland, and that the King had at firſt conſented, but afterwards changed his mind. Barillon writes, on the 17th March, 1688, that the Princeſs Anne had herſelf applied to the King, but had herſelf got a refuſal. There can, I imagine, remain little doubt what the intention of this interview was.

The ingenious and learned Mr. Duan was ſo obliging as to communicate to me the following letter, in his poſſeſſion, from Dr. Chamberlayne to the Electreſs Sophia, concerning the birth of the Pretender.

Dr.

Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne to the Electreſs Sophia.——Account of the Pretender's birth.

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs,

"I Should not have preſumed to interrupt your better ſpent hours with my rude and unpoliſhed lines, had I not been encouraged by your gracious commands, ſent by the Rev. Heer Meuſchen, miniſter of the goſpel to the Lutheran church in the Hague. He was pleaſed to give me a ſhort account of a diſcourſe paſt in your Royal Highneſs's preſence, wherein my name was mentioned upon two different ſubjects, of which I think it my duty to give your Royal Highneſs the beſt ſatisfaction I can.—The firſt related to my attendance at the birth of the Pretender to the crown of Great Britain, now firmly ſettled by law on your Royal Highneſs. In this I perceive the Heer Meuſchen was miſled, confounding my diſcourſe with him, on this matter, together with the converſation he might have with others, occaſioned by pamphlets, then here current, pretending an account how far I had been therein engaged, to which ſeveral falſehoods were added; one of thoſe papers was writ by Mr. Burnet, ſon to the biſhop of Saliſbury.—The matter of fact follows:

On Sunday morning, the day of the month and year occurs not at preſent to my memory, the Queen ſent early a footman to fetch me to St. James's; but late the night before being gone to Chatham to viſit a patient, he miſſed me; a poſt was immediately diſpatched, and I haſtened and found a child newly born looſe, and undreſt in Lady Powis her lap, and, as I was informed, brought forth an hour before I came. I was not long in the chamber when came the late Duke Hamilton, then Lord Arran; more, as to this particular, I cannot offer on my own knowledge, but ſhall ſubjoin a few probable circumſtances; for inſtance, the Dutcheſs of Monmouth having ſome time before ſent for me,

and

and being in the mean time gone to the Queen's levee, left order I ſhould wait her Grace's return; when arrived, ſhe was pleaſed to make this excuſe for my waiting; that ſhe had been with her Majeſty, ſaw her ſhifted and her belly very big, which I ſuppoſe nothing can ſo ſoon reduce as the bearing a child; other tumors requiring for a compleat abatement, weeks, months, or years. This relation being wholly occaſioned by a chance, and mentioned by one at that time diſobliged by the court, I take to be genuine, without artifice or diſguiſe, ſo that I never ſince queſtioned it. Another circumſtance in this caſe is, that my being a noted whig, and ſignally oppreſſed by King James, they would never have hazarded ſuch a ſecret as a ſuppoſititious child, which, had I been at home to have immediately followed the ſummons, I muſt have come time enough to have diſcovered, though the Queen had uſually very quick labours. Next morning meeting the King coming through the Park to St. James's, he was pleaſed to tell me that when he ſent I was abſent: To which I humbly replied, more warning had been neceſſary: But he told me they were ſurpriſed, for the Queen expected to go a fortnight longer: Whereupon I anſwered, that if his Majeſty had given me three four months warning as formerly, I would not have left the town without their Majeſties knowledge and leave. The King told me further, that Dr. Brady, one of his phyſicians, and phyſick profeſſor in Cambridge, had informed him no woman exceeded eight and thirty weeks with child: To which, with a modeſt ſmile, I replied, It might be true, though I could not gueſs how he, I, or another, could know it to be ſo without having been guardians to a ſeraglio. I confeſs I was a little piqued that beſides former ſlights, neither the King nor Queen themſelves had ſpoke to me to attend: indeed, Lady Sophia Buckley told me, in her Majeſty's preſence, ſome weeks before, that ſhortly there would be occaſion for me; but I did not take that for ſufficient orders. At another time Lady Jefferies aſking whether I had commands

commands to attend her Majeſty? I briſkly anſwered, I thought I ſhould, unleſs their brains were in diſorder. A third material circumſtance may be admitted; that during my attendance on the child, by his Majeſty's directions, I had frequent diſcourſe with the neceſſary woman, who being in mighty dread of Popery, and confiding in my reputed whiggiſm, would often complain of the buſy pragmaticalneſs of the Jeſuits, who had placed and diſplaced whom they pleaſed, and for her part ſhe expected a ſpeedy remove, for the Jeſuits would endure none but their own party: ſuch was our common entertainment; but about a fortnight after the child was born, a rumour being ſpread through the city, that the child was ſuppoſititious, ſhe cried, Alas! will they not let the poor infant alone? I am certain no ſuch thing as the bringing a ſtrange child in a warming pan could be practiſed without my ſeeing it, attending conſtantly in and about all the avenues of the chamber.

Other remoter accidents might be alledged, which being of ſmaller moment, are forborne; but neither the laws nor practice of England allow other hereditary right to the crown, or private eſtates, than what upon good grounds the nation hath power to alter, and often do."

To defend the Revolution upon a pretended ſuppoſititious birth, is to affront it; it ſtands upon a much nobler foundation, the rights of human nature. The ſuppoſititious birth was a mere lie of party, and was intended to have been made uſe of ſix years before, if King James's Queen had then been brought to bed of a ſon.

In The Obſervator, No. 194, printed Wedneſday, Auguſt 23d, 1682, is the following remarkable paſſage.

"If it had pleaſed God to give his Royal Highneſs the bleſſing of a ſon, as it proved a daughter, you were prepared

prepared to make a Perkin of him. To what end did you take ſo much pains elſe, by your inſtruments and intelligences, to hammer it into the people's heads that the Dutcheſs of York was not with child? And ſo, in caſe of a ſon, to repreſent him as an impoſtor; whereas you now have taken off the maſk in confeſſing the daughter.——I would have the impreſſion of this cheat ſink ſo far into the heads and hearts of all honeſt men, as never to be defaced, or forgotten. For we muſt expect, that the ſame flam ſhall, at any time hereafter, be trumpt up again upon the like occaſion."

Compare alſo Lord Clarendon's Diary as follows.

Diary of the Earl of Clarendon, 1688, p. 20.

"Jan. 15th. In the morning, I went to St. James's church; this is the thankſgiving day appointed for the Queen's being with child; there were not above two or three in the church who brought the form of prayer with them. It is ſtrange to ſee how the Queen's great belly is every where ridiculed, as if ſcarce any body believed it to be true. Good God help us!"

Lord Hardwicke was ſo obliging as to give me the uſe of manuſcript memoirs in his poſſeſſion, of Byng Lord Torrington, which throw conſiderable light upon a part of the ſtory of the Revolution, hitherto very little underſtood.

In this manuſcript there are the following paſſages.

Extracts

Extracts from the MS. memoirs of Byng Lord Torrington.
——*The intrigues of the fleet with the Prince of Orange.*

Extract firſt.

" Lord Dartmouth remained three weeks with the fleet at the Nore, and then judging it moſt proper to lye off the Gunfleet, he therefore ſailed with it there. Here my Lord called a council of war, when it was propoſed, and much inſiſted on by ſome, that the fleet ſhould go over to the coaſt of Holland, and there wait the motions of the Dutch. But this propoſition had no effect; for the greater number of Captains were ſteady in their principles for the King, yet the chiefeſt and moſt conſiderable of them were otherwiſe inclined, and were in frequent meetings and cabals at this time. By their management they brought over a majority of the council to think it was hazarding the fleet, to lye on that dangerous coaſt at this time of the year, and therefore much better to remain where they were, ſending ſome frigates over to obſerve the Dutch fleet. So that to this opinion the council adhered, and the fleet only removed without the Ship Waſh, Lord Dartmouth ſending three frigates to obſerve them. This was a point artfully gained by thoſe that were induſtrious to poſſeſs the fleet in favour of the Prince of Orange, and in ridiculing all the meaſures taken to prevent his deſigns. The Captains they were moſt deſirous of bringing over to their party were, Aſhby and Woolfred Cornwall, both of them zealous for the King, and had great credit in the fleet: it was therefore agreed, that Mr. Byng ſhould break it to them, for Aſhby being his Captain, he had a particular regard for him, and Cornwall was his moſt intimate friend. Mr. Byng himſelf had been early entruſted with what was then doing;

for at a meeting in London, where the Duke of Ormond, General Kirk, Captain Aylmer, and others, were conſulting of the deſigns then on foot, and upon mentioning who of the fleet could be truſted, Kirk had recommended Mr. Byng as a perſon he would anſwer for, and Captain Alymer was to acquaint him with it, which he did, as they went down to the fleet, in the beginning of October, truſting himſelf with him upon General Kirk's aſſurances of his faithfulneſs to them. Mr. Byng replied, that Mr. Kirk ſhould loſe no honour by what he had ſaid, aſſured him he would not betray him, deſired him to conſider about joining with them, and finding by further diſcourſe, that General Kirk, Mr. Ruſſel, and other particular perſons, were going over to the Prince of Orange, he then became willing to agree with them in their undertakings, and from that time was entruſted by them. Aſhby was not ſoon prevailed on, thinking that in their profeſſion they were not taught to turn againſt the King. But after ſome diſcourſe with Mr. Byng alone, and upon his telling him that he knew the diſpoſitions of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the fleet, and ſhewing the neceſſity there was to free themſelves from popiſh oppreſſion, he then yielded ſo far as to become a well wiſher to the cauſe. Mr. Cornwall was more difficult to be perſuaded. In a diſcourſe he expreſſed the obligations of himſelf and family to the King, and thought it a villainy in thoſe who attempted any thing againſt him; but when Mr. Byng named ſome perſons that were engaged in it, that were his moſt intimate and particular friends, he was ſurpriſed, and when convinced of it he gave up his zeal for the King, and from that time no man was more heartily in the cauſe, uſing his endeavours to bring over ſeveral in his own ſhip, and continued heartily attached to the Revolution principles to the day of his death.

Nov. 3. While the fleet lay off the Ship Waſh by the Gunfleet, with the yards and topmaſts down in a hard

hard gale at E. S. S. the Dutch fleet paſſed by them, making the beſt of their way to the weſtward, and though it was foggy weather, yet ſix of their ſhips were within ſight of the Engliſh fleet early that morning, upon which they got up their yards and topmaſts, and three ſhips ſlipped immediately, and plyed to diſcover them, and ſoon after made the ſignal of ſeeing the enemy's fleet; but Lord Dartmouth could not ſtir with his, not only from the lee tide, but the wind blew hard and contrary for him to purſue them, which kept him at anchor all that day and night, while it favoured the Dutch fleet, carrying them into Torbay.

The next day the Lord Dartmouth ſailed with the Engliſh fleet, ſtanding after that of the Dutch. It was well known that my Lord was to follow them, ſo there was a meeting of ſuch Captains as were inclined to the Prince, to conſult what meaſures they ſhould take upon coming up with the enemy. Some of them were of opinion, that if my Lord attacked them, that in honour they ſhould do their duty againſt them; but the opinion to which they agreed, was upon ſuch an occaſion to leave him."

Extract ſecond.

" The fleet remained nine days in the Downs, when Lord Dartmouth ſailed again to the weſtward with thirty men of war and eighteen fire ſhips; but when he came off of Portland, they met with ſuch bad weather as ſeparated and forced them back into St. Helens and Spithead, which was, perhaps, from want of ſkill, for it is thought they might have ſtretched over, and got to windward, as did the Defiance, within ſight of Alderney. Captain Aſhby finding himſelf on the French coaſt, he was inclined to carry over his ſhip to the Prince. He was ſtanding on our coaſt to look for the Dutch fleet, when meeting with Sir Roger Strictland, he could not avoid going with him into Spithead. When the fleet was

here, and at the time the Prince of Orange was on his march from Exeter, thoſe of the fleet who were well inclined to him, thought it time to ſhew themſelves, and even ſome that were timorous and ſilent hitherto, at a meeting they had, they determined to ſend him a meſſage, and to aſſure his Highneſs of their aſſiſtance and readineſs to obey his orders. This was to be done in ſecrecy, and by word of mouth, and Mr. Byng was to undertake to execute this meſſage, and to that purpoſe firſt addreſſed himſelf to Mr. Ruſſel, who came with the Prince from Holland. Accordingly Mr. Byng obtained leave of Lord Dartmouth to be abſent, on pretence of going into Huntingdonſhire upon affairs that very much concerned him."

Extract third.

"The Prince of Orange had paſſed Exeter, in his way to Saliſbury, and was at the Earl of Briſtol's houſe, at Sherborne, when Mr. Byng came to him. The firſt perſon he met with that knew him, was my Lord Churchill, who was that day come with the Prince of Denmark, and from the ſtairs head aſked him, what he did there? Mr. Byng deſired he would aſk no queſtions, but carry him to a private room, where he might ſee Mr. Ruſſel; who coming to him, he acquainted him with his meſſage, and was then by him conducted to the Prince of Orange, all the company then retiring except Mr. Ruſſel, and he then delivered to his Highneſs the meſſage from the officers of the fleet, naming thoſe who had engaged themſelves to aſſiſt him. The Prince expreſſed great ſatisfaction at ſuch welcome aſſurances, received Mr. Byng with courteſy, and promiſed him, if he ſucceeded, he would take care particularly to remember him. He ſent him back with an anſwer to the officers of the fleet, and with a letter to Lord Dartmouth, to acquaint him of the neceſſity of his coming over, and of his intentions to continue him at the head of the fleet,

fleet, with promiſes that Admiral Herbert (between whom there was ſome variance) ſhould not be advanced over him. This letter the Prince adviſed Mr. Byng to put into the ſtuffing of his ſaddle, leſt, in caſe he was ſeized, it ſhould be found upon him; but he thought it beſt to quilt it in the rowlers of his breeches; ſo Mr. Byng, taking his leave, returned ſafely to the fleet again. There was ſome difficulty how to give this letter to Lord Dartmouth, whoſe zeal to the King was well known; and therefore Mr. Aylmer undertook it, and one morning took an opportunity privately to lay it upon his toilette. This letter had ſome effect on him, for from that time he ſeemed inclinable to the Prince's party, though his real thoughts could no ways agree with the meaſures then taken; yet he was terrified at the diſpoſition of the nation, and of the fleet, that he thought it to no purpoſe to oppoſe them, and knew not what might be the conſequences to himſelf, ſince the Prince of Orange advanced with ſuch ſucceſs, and all the people were daily riſing againſt the King. He was the more cautious in his behaviour from a deſign that was diſcovered to ſeize him on board the commanded by Captain Haſtings, who had invited him to dinner for that purpoſe, in which caſe they intended to give the command of the fleet to the Duke of Grafton. But Captain Davy Floid, who had found himſelf neglected by his old friends, and from the favour he was in with the King's party, having knowledge of it, diſcovered their deſign to Lord Dartmouth, by which means he avoided their putting it in execution by excuſing himſelf from going. He continued in great doubt how to behave with regard to the Prince's party in the fleet, and to act according to his principles, and conſiſtent with his duty to the King, ſeeing himſelf in the power of thoſe of the other party, and not able to refuſe his aſſiſtance in an attempt of the moſt dangerous conſequence; for the young P. of Wales had been brought down to Portſmouth, to go in a yacht to France with Sir R. Strickland, which being known to ſeveral Captains of the fleet,

they were reſolved to ſeize him, and repreſenting to Lord Dartmouth the conſequence it might be to himſelf to ſuffer his eſcape when the nation was in confuſion, and the government unſettled, they obliged him to give orders to Captains Aylmer, Haſtings and Shovel, to intercept the yachts as they ſhould come out of Portſmouth, in caſe he ſhould eſcape Captain Cornwall and Mr. Byng, who were appointed to go with armed boats to wait his coming off, to lay that yacht on board where the Prince of Wales ſhould be; and in caſe of reſiſtance, theſe three ſhips were ready to take him in caſe he eſcaped from them. Upon this deſign Captain Cornwall and Mr. Byng were employed, taking it by turns each night to remain in the armed boat, while the other remained in the town, to get intelligence of the time of his going off, appointing a place to confer at upon occaſion over the town wall. At the time Captain Cornwall was in town, he obſerved a great hurry in Mr. Ridge's houſe, where the Prince was lodged, and who was then on the ſtairs going to embark, where he found the Duke of Powis's (Governor of the town) coach and ſix horſes at the door, and approaching them in the dark, felt their legs which he found dry, which made him conclude it was not a coach come in, but going out of town. He was ſurpriſed at this, and found an end of their enterpriſe, the Prince of Wales going in the Duke's coach to London. They were nigh ſucceeding, ſince all the baggage and neceſſaries for the child were then on board, and he certainly upon the point of going off. This was a great diſappointment to thoſe who had projected the deſign; yet they afterwards thought their zeal had carried them beyond their policy, and that they were fortunate by their ill ſucceſs in ſuch an attempt; ſince their being poſſeſſed of the Prince's perſon muſt have perplexed the affairs then in hand. It was thought this diſcovery was made by Lord Dartmouth, who could neither avoid giving the orders he did, nor ſuffer them to be put in execution, and that by giving notice of it to the King, the Prince might eſcape.

The

The Prince of Orange making great progreſs in his march to London, and all the country joining with him, the King abandoned by thoſe he moſt confided in, and the Queen ſent with the young Prince away to France, deſerted by his army, and ſeeming himſelf to have no remedy but in his flight, circumſtances that ſo terrified my Lord Dartmouth, that he wrote a letter to the Prince of Orange, offering the fleet to his Highneſs's ſervice, and ſent it by Captains Aylmer, Haſtings and Byng."

The opportunity which the Duke of Grafton had of ſerving the Prince of Orange's intereſt in the fleet, is confirmed by a letter from Barillon to his court, of the 6th Nov. 1688, in which he ſays, that the Duke of Grafton had aſked leave to go down to the fleet as volunteer under Lord Dartmouth, and was gone there. In the *Depot.*

The Earl of Dartmouth was alſo ſo obliging as to communicate to me the following letters, relative to his anceſtor's conduct in the command of the fleet at the Revolution, and the part which he acted with regard to the tranſporting of the young Prince into France.

Letters which paſſed between King James and Lord Dartmouth, whilſt Lord Dartmouth lay with the fleet at the mouth of the Nore.

Extract of King James's letter to Lord Dartmouth, dated Whitehall, Oct. 8, 1688.

"You will have an account from Mr. Pepys of what is done about the victuals, and what Sir R. Haddock and the reſt of them ſaid to me this evening; which if ſo, you may be ſoon ready to ſail with moſt of your ſhips, and though all that are in the Hope ſhould not be quite ready, conſider well whether you ſhould loſe the opportunity of this weſterly wind to

get out from among the ſands, or venture to have the Dutch come and find you poſted ſomewhere near the buoy of the Ozeedge among the ſands, for you muſt expect they will come out, and be looking for you with the firſt eaſterly wind, &c."

Extract of Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Buoy of the Nore, October 12, 1688.

" I am infinitely ſenſible of the great truſt your Majeſty is pleaſed to put in my conduct of this fleet, which, to the beſt of my underſtanding, ſhall be faithfully performed for your ſervice. Your Majeſty cannot be more deſirous to have me from among the ſands, than I am impatiently endeavouring to get out. I judge it much more for your ſervice to unite while we have time, than to drop out in parcels with the hazard of being ſeparated, eſpecially knowing myſelf here in the beſt place to do my buſineſs while theſe winds continue; and be aſſured, Sir, I ſhall be at ſea upon the firſt alteration. And, Sir, though it is your Majeſty's great goodneſs to truſt ſo great a concern to me, yet I humbly beg leave to lay my thoughts before you, that your Majeſty may pleaſe to judge better, and to give me your commands, if you pleaſe to approve or diſapprove of my preſent intentions, which cannot be final till I am at ſea, and, with the humbleſt ſubmiſſion may alter with the opportunities I may meet, being hard to take any reſult but as the place and occaſion may offer. None of the Portſmouth ſhips are yet come to me, therefore, at my firſt going out, I will look towards the Downs, and ſee what ſhips I can get from thence, and leave directions with thoſe ſhips that are to follow, to come thither firſt, where farther orders ſhall lye ready for them: with what I have with me I intend to keep the ſea as much as poſſible I can, thinking that much ſafer for this ſquadron, than to venture being any where embayed, or truſting myſelf to be ſet upon in any road, and if it ſhall be neceſſary for me to ride at any time in the Downs, I will always put to ſea upon

any

any eaſterly winds. As ſoon as I get a reaſonable ſquadron together, I believe it for your Majeſty's honour and ſervice, if the weather be any thing reaſonable to ſhew myſelf upon their coaſt, as near as I conveniently can in the day time, ſtill ſtanding off to get good ſea room every night, while I ſee it reaſonable to ſtay thereabout."

Extract from King James's letter to Lord Dartmouth dated Whitehall, October 14, 1688.

" I make no doubt but that God will protect me, and proſper my arms both by land and ſea. I need ſay no more to you, being ſure you will do what is beſt for my ſervice, which you that are on the place are the only judge of, and muſt govern yourſelf according to the enemies motions, and as wind and weather will permit."

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Oaz Edge, October 17, 1688.

" We are all now of opinion that upon the firſt ſlatch of wind and fair weather, we ſhall fall down to the Gunfleet, where though it be hard roading, yet the ground is good, and we ſhall be well formed: there we ſhall be ready to cover Harwich as well as the river Thames; be able to go to ſea, if occaſion be; or we can but come up again at worſt; we ſhall be ready to look towards the channel, have very good anchoring between the Kentiſh knock and the North ſands-head, and the Downs always to friend upon bad weather. This, Sir, with the humbleſt ſubmiſſion to your Majeſty's better judgment, is the preſent meaſures I think of, till any thing better offers for your ſervice.——— Upon the caution your Majeſty hath given me, I will not venture over on the coaſt of Holland, without I ſee ſettled fair weather, which is not impoſſible after ſo much bad."

Extract

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Gunfleet, October 24, 1688.

" I thank God I am at laſt got hither, with your Majeſty's fleet ſafe, and in as good condition for the time as could be expected, whatever may be ſuggeſted to the contrary; and our coming out not ſooner hath been hitherto for the beſt, as I hope all things will do for your advantage. Sir, we are now at ſea before the Dutch after all their boaſting, and I muſt confeſs I cannot ſee much ſenſe in their attempt, with the hazard of ſuch a fleet and army, at the latter end of October, and if they can make uſe of this moon, it is as good for us as them."

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Gunfleet, October 29, 1688.

" —I thank God your Majeſty's fleet is in very good condition, and (conſidering the whole matter your Majeſty hath been ſo graciouſly pleaſed, to leave to me) I will endeavour to keep it ſo, &c."

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Gun-fleet October 30, 1688.

" Since mine to your Majeſty yeſterday, the wind came up laſt night, between 9 and 10 o'clock to the N. and continued moſt of the night between the N. and N. N. E. About 4 o'clock I gave the ſignal for unmooring, and we are juſt now under ſail with the tide of ebb, and the wind at S. S. E. and hope to get clear of the Galloper before night. On Friday laſt the Prince of Orange and Herbert were both ſeen at Helvoetſluys, ſo that they could not be ſtirring, as the winds have been, till laſt night and this morning; no doubt, they will get all to ſea this day, and I hope by to-morrow, to give your Majeſty a better account of them. I have my ſcouts out, and I believe it impoſſible for us to miſs ſuch a fleet. God proſper your Majeſty, and ſend you victory over your enemies; I am ſure I will endeavour heartily my part towards it."

Copy

Copy of Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Nov. 5, 1688.

"SINCE mine to your Majeſty on Tueſday laſt, by Mr. Bridges, I came that night to an anchor at ſix o'clock, the Nar bearing W. and Balzy Church N. W. and by N. with a very freſh gale of wind, at due E. Beſides the 3 cruizers I had out before, I ſent out the Suadado's to ply to the northward, upon the receipt of the abſtract from Marquis d'Albeville's letters. The Katherine yacht I ordered to ply off to the Eaſtward, and the Kitchen to the Southward; the King-fiſher Ketch was likewiſe ſent to Oſtend, with letters from captain Rooth. But all this, as the wind ſtood, and as it blew ſo hard, availed me nothing; for on Thurſday our Frigates that were ſent a cruizing were drove back, and came to an anchor in our offing at a league and a half to the windward of us; one of them came in without a foretopmaſt, and another wanted his maintopmaſt. It blowed ſo very hard that we were forced to ſtrike all our yards and topmaſts, and rid with two cables and a half out, the wind fretting and never varying above one point either way. Juſt at break of day on Saturday morning, we ſaw 13 ſail about three leagues to windward of us; the 3 frigates that lay without us cut, but could fetch but one fly-boat that had loſt her rudder; ſhe was taken by the Foreſight, and ſent into the Downs with the Swallow, who it ſeems ſprung a leak, ſo that I fear I ſhall have little good from her. Major Colondſby of colonel Babington's regiment with 290 men were in the fly-boat, and as I am told, the common men rejoiced when they were taken, but I do not find the officers ſo, though the Major pretends a great deal. I got all ready to ſail with the fleet on Saturday, but the ſea came in ſo heavy, and the tide fell ſo croſs, that we could not till yeſterday morning. We got under ſail at 8 o'clock, with

with the wind E. S. E. a topſail gale. About 10 captain Clements came in to us, with the Katherine yacht, which was the firſt news we received of the Prince of Orange, for the Foreſight returned not to us till 2 this afternoon, to give an account of the fly-boat. We made all the ſail poſſible we could to the Northward, the weather came very fair, and the wind continued at E. S. E. a ſteady gale. By 8 at night we got about the Southſands-head; about 12 we got the length of the Neſs, and I hauled in with the ſhore, leſt they ſhould be in Rye Bay; but it pirred ſo little wind from 12 o'clock, that when the flood came in we could ſcarcely ſtem it, and got no further than Beachy by 9 this morning; but this ebb I hope we ſhall make better of it. Thus I have given your Majeſty a true account of all my proceedings, which are ſo far from the vain hopes I had, that I take myſelf for the moſt unfortunate man living, though I know your Majeſty is too juſt to expect more than wind and weather will permit.

Sir, finding that the Dutch ſailed by Dover on Saturday in the afternoon, and that they had a freſh gale all that night, and a fair wind all yeſterday, and ſuch weather for their purpoſe and ſo little for mine to day, I am in great apprehenſions they will be landed before we fetch them; and if their fleet lie at St. Helens, whilſt the reſt land in Stokes Bay and Hampton water, their fleet being ſo much ſuperior, as I find they are, both in number and quality, I am at a ſtand what to do; for on calling the flag officers and commanders, they unanimouſly adviſe me againſt attacking the Dutch fleet, if all poſſibility of hindering their landing be over; though every body I aſſure you, Sir, I think are ſo exaſperated at the Prince of Orange's proceedings, that I am once more confident they will venture their lives very heartily in your Majeſty's ſervice. I conſider the ſucceſs of their landing, and beating your only fleet, together with the deſtruction, as I may ſay, of the flower of the Engliſh fleet, or ſo many of them at leaſt as are here preſent, Sir, I confeſs the thoughts of this, with the conſequence it may have in

London,

London, and all over England, checks my inclination of ſetting upon them without your Majeſty's further orders; but I reſolve to endeavour to fall in with the Iſle of Wight at break of day to-morrow morning, and ſee what advantage it will pleaſe God to offer me, taking the caution not to ſhoot too far to the weſtward in the night, nor to engage your fleet unreaſonably, or at leaſt that I ſee ſome hopes of doing it.

Juſt as I was finiſhing this, Sir Roger Strickland, Sir Jo. Berry, and Captain Davis came all together to me, and earneſtly preſſed that I would not proceed to make the Dutch with the whole fleet, in conſideration that the ſquadron is at preſent ſo weak; ſhewing what are now wanting of what I ſhould have with me, which are the Swallow and Tyger in the Downs; the Dover, Bonadventure, and Suadado's not yet come to us from cruiſing with the Foreſight; ſince we came into the channel, the Speedwell and Sally Roſe fireſhips miſſing, as is all the ſmall craft, except one ketch and the two yachts, beſides the Yorke, Woolwich, St. Albans, and Newcaſtle; ſo that at preſent we want twelve. They further urged, they are doubtful that upon our appearance their whole fleet would come out to us, and either force us to a diſadvantageous battle, or a diſgraceful going from them; ſo that I have now reſolved with them to ply off and on, and jogg on eaſily till the ſcouts I have now, upon their advice, ſent to the weſtward, bring me an account of the enemy, and that the ſhips a-ſtern (or rather left behind for the preſent) come up to me; and that I know your Majeſty's pleaſure what you would have me do; which I humbly deſire may be as ſoon as is convenient, for the caſe is much different now, and from what it would have been if we had been ſo happy to have met them before they were diſcharged of their great convoy. The places I am likely to come to an anchor at, are the Neſs or the Downs, where I believe ſome of our ſhips may be that are miſſing. I underſtand the Prince of Orange changed his meaſures upon his laſt coming aboard, when he heard your Majeſty's fleet

was

was at the Gunfleet; for before that he intended for the river. Pray God Almighty direct and protect your Majesty; and notwithstanding all this, I hope, by his blessing, yet to be able to render your Majesty good service from this squadron, as time and opportunity offers; for I am faithfully and heartily devoted to your Majesty to my life's end."

Extract from King James's letter to Lord Dartmouth, dated Whitehall, November 9, 1688.

"I had last night your's by Captain Rooth, but had not then leisure to answer it, and am fully satisfied you did all that you could, and that nobody could work otherwise than you did. I am sure all knowing seamen must be of the same mind, and therefore be at ease as to yourself, and consider of the best means of securing the squadron you have with you, and of being in a condition of taking such advantages upon the enemy which may offer themselves to you," &c.

I found among Lord Preston's dispatches, in the possession of Mr. Graham, the following letter from Lord Preston to Lord Dartmouth, which shews both the sentiments which the King entertained of Lord Dartmouth's not having betrayed the command with which he was trusted, and the aversion of these Lords to the Popish counsels of their master.

Lord Preston to Lord Dartmouth.—Complains of Popish counsels.—The King pleased with Lord Dartmouth's conduct.

My Lord, London, Nov. 11th, 1688.

"I HAVE received your Lordship's very kind letter of the fifteenth instant, and was very glad to find by it that you were in good health, which I hope God

God will continue to you. I wiſh you all the ſucceſs that may be in whatſoever you undertake, and I muſt aſſure you that notwithſtanding the malice of a party at court, which hath already almoſt wrought our deſtruction, your lordſhip is extremely ſafe and happy in the King's juſtice to you; who knoweth, and hath declared publickly and privately, that it was impoſſible for you to take other meaſures than you did when the Dutch paſſed by you. He is this afternoon gone for Windſor, and hath taken the Prince with him in order to have him at Portſmouth.

The Queen ſtayeth here for ſome time.

God give him good ſucceſs, and grant him a ſafe return.—God of heaven ſend us a good meeting, and preſerve you. You may be aſſured that I ſhall be watchful over whatever concerns you. I ſhall ever remain,

My dear Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt affectionate friend,
and moſt humble ſervant,

PRESTON."

Letters between King James and the Earl of Dartmouth, concerning the tranſporting the young Prince into France.

Andover, Nov. 25, 1688.

"I SEND this to you by the Lord Dover, whom I ſend to Portſmouth to command in chief there. I am going back to London myſelf, intending to be there to-morrow; and have ordered all my army to quarter along the river, beginning at Marlo. He will tell you how Lord Churchill and Duke of Grafton are gone over to the enemy with ſome others. I have charged Lord Dover alſo to ſpeak with you of my intentions concerning my ſon, and you muſt follow Lord Dover's directions as to what concerns our ſaid ſon, by being aſſiſting to him in what directions I have given him by word of mouth. I have not time to ſay more.

JAMES, R."

Whitehall,

Whitehall, Nov. 29, 1688.

"THIS is the second letter I write to you upon the subject of my son, though the other was from Andover, as I remember; it will not have been delivered to you sooner than this; that was not given to you sooner, hoping still things would not have been so very bad as they are. 'Tis my son they aim at, and 'tis my son I must endeavour to preserve, whatsoever becomes of me; therefore I conjure you to assist Lord Dover in getting him sent away in the yachts, as soon as wind and weather will permit, for the first port they can get to in France, and that with as much secrecy as may be; and so that trusty men may be put in the yachts, that he may be exposed to no other danger but that of the sea; and know I shall look upon this as one of the greatest pieces of service you can do me.

JAMES, R."

"Nov. 30. Since the writing of what is before, I have altered my mind as to the delaying of it a little, as you will see more at large by mine to Lord Dover, to which I refer you, and do again conjure you to use your utmost endeavours to have my son secured, as in the first part of this letter, and to have all things ready when 'tis proper for him to embark, as I have already said in mine to Lord Dover.

J. R."

Whitehall, Dec. 1, 1688.

"UPON the receiving of this you are immediately to put in execution the orders I have already given you and Lord Dover, for the sending away of my son, the Prince of Wales.

JAMES, R."

Whitehall,

Whitehall, Dec. 1, 1688. 9 at night.

"MR. Pepys writes the news to you, ſo that this is only to tell you I had this morning yours of the 28th and 30th; and though, as you ſay in it, I have reaſon to miſtruſt mankind, yet I aſſure you, though all the reſt of thoſe about me ſhould betray me, I could never ſuſpect you, as you may have ſeen by ſome letters of mine, which I hope will have been given you before this gets to you. Let me know by this meſſenger, when he returns, when you received them: I ſhall be very impatient till I know you have had them, and put thoſe orders in execution.

J. R."

Theſe four letters, together with another, dated Nov. 29, relating only to the diſpoſition of the fleet, are together in one parcel, on the outſide of which is the following endorſement, viz.

"Theſe three letters received not till the 2d of December; two by the hands of Lord Dover, the other as indorſed in Mr. Pepys's pacquet: The other two being dated the 1ſt December, were brought to me ſoon one after the other, on the 3d in the morning. All theſe five letters were anſwered on that 3d of December, and delivered to my Lord Dover, and by him ſent with a meſſenger on purpoſe. Reſolved, between us both, not to do any thing in carrying away the Prince of Wales till we have his Majeſty's further order, and an anſwer to my letter."

Lord Dartmouth to King James.—His reaſon for declining to carry the young Prince to France.

Spithead, December 3, 1688.

"YEſterday in the afternoon Lord Dover came aboard me, and brought me two letters from your Majeſty, one dated at Andover the 25th of No-

vember, the other at Whitehall of the 29th, with a poſtſcript of the 30th, on the ſubject of ſending away the Prince of Wales, wherein you were pleaſed to ſhew thoughts of delaying your intentions therein, and I muſt confeſs I was in hopes, if your Majeſty took the leaſt time to conſider, you would find ſo many undeniable reaſons to the contrary, as would ſoon oblige your Majeſty to alter your reſolutions, and therefore I forbore ſhewing my Lord Dover the ſurpriſe I was at firſt in; but by two letters dated from Whitehall yeſterday, (which I received this day ſoon after another) with the greateſt dread and grief of heart imaginable, I underſtand your Majeſty perſiſts in your former intentions and conſultation held with my Lord Dover, in ſending away the Prince, and conjures me to be aſſiſting therein. I need not tell your Majeſty how ſtrict the laws are in this matter, nor after ſo many experiences of my duty, and loyalty to your perſon, lay before you freſh aſſurances of giving ready obedience to any commands within my power; but to be guilty of treaſon to your Majeſty and the known laws of the kingdom, of ſo high a nature as this, when your Majeſty ſhall further deliberate on it, I moſt humbly hope you will not exact it from me, nor longer entertain ſo much as a thought of doing that, which will give your enemies an advantage, though never ſo falſely grounded, to diſtruſt your ſon's juſt right, which you have aſſerted and manifeſted to the world (in the matter of his being your real ſon born of the Queen) by the teſtimonies of ſo many apparent witneſſes. Pardon me therefore, Sir, if on my bended knees, I beg of you to apply yourſelf to other councils; for the doing this looks like nothing leſs than deſpair, to the degree of not only giving your enemies encouragement, but diſtruſt of your friends and people, who I do not deſpair but will yet ſtand by you, in the defence and right of your lawful ſucceſſor. Your Majeſty knows I have always profeſſed myſelf of the Church of England, and I humbly appeal to you if I ever gave you promiſes of being of any other; and therefore as ſuch,

ſuch, and a faithful ſervant, ſubject and councellor, I beg leave to adviſe you, and give you my humble opinion, that ſending away the Prince of Wales, without the conſent of the nation, is at no time adviſable, and therefore the doing it at this time eſpecially, and that to France, being what I dread will be of fatal conſequence to your perſon, crown, and dignity, and all your people will (too probably) grow ſo much concerned at this your great miſtruſt, as to throw off their bounden allegiance to you, which God forbid; therefore pray, Sir, conſider farther on this weighty point: for can the Prince's being ſent to France, have other proſpect than the entailing a perpetual war upon your nation and poſterity; and giving France always a temptation, to moleſt, invade, nay hazard the conqueſt of England, which I hope in God never to ſee, but that we may have this Prince of your own loins, to rule over us. The moſt I can apprehend your Majeſty may be jealous of, is his being brought up in the religion of the Church of England, and that ought (for his Royal Highneſs's ſake eſpecially) to be the prayer of every honeſt loyal ſubject. Pardon me therefore, Sir, that I moſt earneſtly implore you, not to make me the unhappy inſtrument of ſo apparent ruin to your Majeſty and my country, as an act of this kind will be; and I hope your Majeſty will not ſuffer it to be done by any other, for I can foreſee nothing leſs from it, than the putting in hazard your own ſacred perſon and the Queen's, and making England the moſt miſerable nation in the world.

Remember I pray, Sir, how prophetically I have foretold you your misfortunes, and the courſes you might have taken to have avoided them, which I do not mention to reproach you, but to put you in mind of doing it now at laſt; and for heaven's ſake, Sir, as you have made a great ſtep towards reconciliation by publiſhing your Royal intentions of calling a parliament, treat (if your condition be no better) and that fairly; God in his infinite mercy will preſerve you, and your Royal

Iſſue, and the Church of England will defend you in all your juſt rights, and remove the diſturbers of your peace, and ſettle you as great and firm on your throne, as any of your predeceſſors. Pardon me, Sir, for being thus free with you, for it proceeds from a ſincere heart, and concern for you and yours; and what has paſt between us on this unfortunate ſubject ſhall never be an injury to you, by being made known from me, and I know your goodneſs is too great to think ill of your conſtant faithful ſervant, or to impute to me any diſobedience; for what I have thus moſt humbly laid before your Majeſty, is really and honeſtly, from the utmoſt and extreme care and concern I have for yours, the Queen's and Prince's real preſervation; for as I will not be inſtrumental in, nor ſuffer him to be carried into France, if by any means I can prevent it, ſo on the other hand, I will frankly venture my life in your Majeſty's and his defence; and as the laſt expedient, I can at preſent propoſe nothing more eſſential to your Majeſty's great ſervice, than in delivering him ſafe into your own Royal cuſtody, and the ſooner your Majeſty gives me order for it, it will be the better: Sir, I am afraid if I go from hence, the Dutch fleet will ſoon be here, and I likewiſe fear the Prince of Orange's forces may cut between you and Portſmouth, therefore I deſire your Majeſty will give me order for bringing the Prince to you ſpeedily, and that you will pleaſe to recollect yourſelf, and apply reaſonable means to prevent what you ſeem to be under ſuch dreadful apprehenſions of. Your Majeſty may ſee in what confuſion I am, ſo that I can ſay no more, but my daily prayers to God Almighty, to direct and proſper you."

Lord Dartmouth to King James.—Upon his firſt Flight.

Spithead, the 2d.

"IT is impoſſible for me to expreſs the grief and anxious cares I am in for your Majeſty, and the news of your withdrawing was the greateſt ſurprize of my

my life; for I did humbly hope, my dutiful ſupplications to your Majeſty would with your own conſiderate thoughts have wholly altered your intentions of ſending away the Prince of Wales, and did think it impoſſible ever to enter into any body's thought, that had the leaſt inclination of duty to your Majeſty, to give you ſo pernicious and deſtructive counſel as to go away yourſelf; and if your Majeſty had been drove to ſuch a deſperate courſe (which was morally impoſſible, at leaſt in my thoughts) as to abſent yourſelf, Sir, could you have been with more honour and ſafety, than in your own fleet, who would always unanimouſly (I dare ſay) have protected and defended your ſacred perſon, from any violence or unhallowed hands; but this looks like ſo great miſtruſt of me, that many can witneſs it hath almoſt broke my heart. Your Majeſty knows what condition you left the fleet in, and me in the utmoſt unſupportable calamity of my life; what could I do but ſend to the Prince of Orange, when I found the whole nation did, and received orders from the Lords, which were communicated to the fleet, and removed all Roman Catholic officers. I have had yet no return from the Prince of Orange, but I hope all will end in your Majeſty's happy re-eſtabliſhment. Mr. Pepys will acquaint your Majeſty with the ſtate of the fleet, and Mr. Vaudry, I hope, will do me juſtice of my care of the Duke of Berwick, garriſon and harbour of Portſmouth, with all the great ſhips; but withal, my confuſion is ſo great, that I am only able to beg God Almighty's protection of your Majeſty, and to deliver you out of all theſe troubles, which ſhall not only be the prayers, but hearty endeavours of a heart that never ſtudied any thing but your real ſervice, and will ever do to my unfortunate life's end."

In King William's box there are, among many other letters written to him, or by him, upon his coming to England, the following ones.

Copy of three letters from the Prince, without addreſs, in Lord Portland's hand-writing.

Letter firſt.

A Exeter ce $\frac{12}{22}$ de Novembre, 1688.

"JE ſay le zele que vous avez pour votre religion, et l'intereſt que vous avez au bien de ces royaumes; ainſi je ne doutte pas que vous vous joindrez avec moy pour contribuer tout ce qui ſera en votre pouvoir pour cet effet. Je ſuis d'avis que vous ne devez point bouger du lieu ou vous êtes, et ne vous en point laiſſer diſſuader; c'eſt à vous à ſavoir qui eſtes ſur les lieux les meſures que vous devez prendre, ne pouvant vous l'ecrire d'ici. Je vous prie d'êtres aſſuré qu'il eſt impoſſible d'être votre ſerviteur plus paſſionement que je le ſuis, et je le temoigneray en toutes occaſions."

Letter ſecond.

A Exeter, ce $\frac{12}{22}$ Novembre.

"J'ESPERE que vous approuverez la cauſe qui m'amene icy, et je ne doutte pas que quand vous l'aurez bien examinée que vous vous trouverez être autant intereſſé que moy; ainſi j'eſpere que vous aurez la bonté d'y concourir et me joindre le plutôt que vous le jugerez convenable pour travailler á une ſi bonne et juſte fin; je vous en auray une obligation tres grande que je tacherai de reconnoitre en toutes occaſions ou je vous pourrai temoigner combien paſſionement je ſuis votre ſerviteur."

Letter

Letter third.

A Exeter, ce $\frac{12}{22}$ de Novembre, 1688.

" L'ON ne fauroit avoir plus d'obligation que je vous ay de la maniere que vous en uſes avec moy, et des aſſurances que vous continues à me donner à m'aſſiſter à procurer à ce pais l'eſtabliſſement de leur religion et liberté. Je vous prie de me joindre le plutôt que vous le jugerez convenable, laiſſant à vous de prendre votre temps; mais il ſera neceſſaire de conſiderer combien des gens ſcavent l'affaire, qu'il eſt dangereux d'attendre trop long tems; cependant il ſera neceſſaire de m'envoyer de nos amis le plus que vous jugerez convenable, puiſque cela donne un bon exemple pour des autres á nous venir joindre; et vous prendrez toutes les precautions qu'il ſera poſſible en ce que vous m'avez fait, et envoyer ce que l'on a requis. Je marcheray en avant le plutôt qu'il ſera faiſable et ne perdray aucun temps, mais il faut conſiderer l'eloignement, les mauvais chemins, et que nous n'avons pas tous les chariots que nous ſouhaiterions. Je vous prie d'eſtre aſſeuré de mon amitié, et que je n'oublieray jamais les obligations que je vous auray. Je vous prie de faire les mêmes aſſurances de ma part à nos bons amis."

Tranſlation. Letter firſt.

Exeter, 12—22 November, 1688.

" I Know the zeal which you have for your religion, and the intereſt which you have in the good of theſe kingdoms, therefore I do not doubt that you will join with me to contribute all that ſhall be in your power for this effect. I am of opinion that you ought not to ſtir from the place where you are, and not to allow yourſelf to be diſſuaded from it. You who are upon the ſpot, know beſt the meaſures which you ought to take, as I cannot point them out to you from this. I entreat you to be aſſured that it is impoſſible for me to be your ſervant more paſſionately than I am, and will ſhew on all occaſions."

Letter ſecond.

Exeter, 12-22 November.

"I Hope you will approve the cauſe which brings me here, and I doubt not that when you have well conſidered it, you will find yourſelf as much intereſted in it as I am: I hope, therefore, that you will have the goodneſs to concur in it, and to join me the ſooneſt that you ſhall judge convenient to help ſo good and juſt an end. I ſhall have a great obligation to you for it, which I will endeavour to acknowledge upon all occaſions, where I can ſhew how paſſionately I am your ſervant."

Letter third.

Exeter, November 12-22, 1688.

"NOBODY can be under greater obligations than I am to you for the manner of your proceeding with me, and for the aſſurances which you continue to give me to aſſiſt me in procuring to this country the eſtabliſhment of its religion and liberty. I pray you to join me the ſooneſt that you ſhall judge proper, leaving you to take your time. But it will be neceſſary to conſider how many people know the affair, and that it would be dangerous to wait too long. In the mean time it will be neceſſary for you to ſend me as many of our friends as you ſhall judge proper, ſince that gives a good example to others for joining us, and to take all precautions poſſible in what you have done, and to ſend what has been aſked. I will march forward the ſooneſt that is feaſible, and will loſe no time: but you muſt conſider the diſtance, the bad roads, and that we have not all the waggons we ſhould wiſh. I beg you to be aſſured of my friendſhip, and I ſhall never forget the obligations which I have to you. I pray you to give the ſame aſſurances to our good friends."

The

The princeſs Anne to the Prince of Orange.—— Prince George is to join him.——Uncertain whether to continue where ſhe is, or to repair to the city.

The Cockpit, November 18.

"HAVING on all occaſions given you and my ſiſter all imaginable aſſurances of the real friendſhip and kindneſs I have for you both, I hope it is not neceſſary for me to repeat any thing of that kind; and on the ſubject you have now wrote to me, I ſhall not trouble you with many compliments, only in ſhort aſſure you, that you have my wiſhes for your good ſucceſs in this ſo juſt an undertaking; and I hope the Prince will ſoon be with you, to let you ſee his readineſs to join with you, who I am ſure will do you all the ſervice that lyes in his power. He went yeſterday with the King towards Saliſbury, intending to go from thence to you as ſoon as his friends thought it proper. I am not yet certain if I ſhall continue here, or remove into the city; that ſhall depend on the advice my friends will give me; but wherever I am, I ſhall be ready to ſhew you how very much I am your humble ſervant.

ANNE."

The Biſhop of London to the Prince of Orange.——A curious letter to be written by a Biſhop.——The Princeſs Anne thinks of joining the prince of Orange.

SIR, Nottingham, December 2.

"WE are juſt arrived here, and find the gentlemen here much diſpoſed to go in to you. Her Highneſs has a deſire to go with them, that ſhe may be under your protection: that you may therefore contrive how to ſecure her paſſage to you, it is fit you ſhould know the condition of our troops here; they are very raw, and defective of good officers. We ſhall

march

march a thouſand, and increaſe every day very much, but ſtill we are very weak in diſcipline. I beſeech you, therefore, Sir, to adviſe beſt of this matter what forces will be neceſſary for you to ſend, and wherever I ſhall meet them, and when.

I am, Sir,

Your Highneſs's moſt obedient ſervant,

H. LONDON."

Lord Devonſhire to the prince of Orange.——The princeſs Anne wants to join him.

Nottingham, Dec. 2d, *at midnight.*

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

"BY this expreſs your Highneſs will receive notice from the Princeſs, and likewiſe from the Biſhop of London, that ſhe intends to join your Highneſs as ſoon as ſhe can. I ſhall preſume to add nothing more, only to give your Highneſs, as near as I can, a ſtate of our force. We are (reckoning the gentlemen that are with us) in all about a thouſand horſe, but both our officers are unexperienced, and our men new raiſed; of theſe we ſhall make about two troops of dragoons, and I am afraid no more. We can have great numbers of foot, if we had arms, and ſubmit to your Highneſs whether you will order me to march with ſuch. If not, in my humble opinion, it would be abſolutely neceſſary that a detachment were ſent to meet the Princeſs at ſome certain place, for at this time we are in perfect ignorance (at leaſt I am in my particular) where your Highneſs is. I likewiſe humbly beg that your Highneſs would appoint every day's march. I am, with all duty and reſpect, Sir,

Your Highneſs's moſt obedient

And moſt humble ſervant,

DEVONSHIRE."

Earl

Earl of Bath to the Prince of Orange.—Is to obey the Prince's directions.

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs,

"I DO with all poſſible gratitude acknowledge the great honour of your late moſt gracious letter, with ſo many ſignal marks of favour and goodneſs towards me, which I ſhall endeavour to deſerve by all the faithful ſervices and actions of my life. Having now fully diſcourſed with my moſt worthy friend the bearer, and particularly imparted to him the methods and meaſures that I have preſumed to think fitteſt to be taken in this juncture, with my reſolution to ſubmit all things to your pleaſure and great wiſdom, I crave leave moſt humbly to refer myſelf to his relation, and ſhall ever yield perfect obedience to your commands, and improve my utmoſt intereſt with all zeal for your ſervice, who am, with all duty and reſpect, may it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs, your Royal Highneſs's

Moſt humble, moſt faithful,
and moſt obedient ſervant,

Nov. 18, 1688. B."

The Biſhop of Briſtol to the Prince of Orange.—In anſwer to a letter from the Prince.—Concurs in his enterprize.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

"I Received the great honour of your Highneſs's letter, and beg leave to return you my moſt humble thanks for thoſe kind opinions you have been pleaſed to conceive of me, which I ſhall endeavour ſtill to preſerve.

My Lord Shrewſbury (with whoſe conduct we are all extremely pleaſed) will give you a full account of what has been done here, which if your Highneſs ſhall approve of, it will be great ſatisfaction to me, that I have bore ſome part in the work which your Highneſs has undertaken with the hazard of your life, for the preſervation

preſervation of the proteſtant religion, the laws and the liberties of this kingdom.

I deſire Almighty God to preſerve you, as the means of continuing to us the exerciſe of our holy religion and our laws; and humbly beſeech your Highneſs to believe me very ready to promote ſo good a work, and on all occaſions to approve myſelf your Highneſs's

Briſtol, December 5. Moſt obedient, faithful, humble ſervant, J. BRISTOL."

Biſhop of St. Aſaph to the Prince of Orange.—Irritates the Prince againſt the King.—Has tried in vain to get the Biſhop of Ely to adopt the idea of a ceſſion of the crown by the King.

SIR, December 17, 1688.

"I DID not find the Biſhop of Ely at home, but I looked him out, and broke the matter to him with all poſſible care, that he might not diſcover what I ſaid to be any more than my own thoughts; and it was well I uſed this caution, for I found him ſtrongly poſſeſſed with a project of accommodation. He told me what my Lord Halliſax ſaid he had ſpoken to his Majeſty formerly, when the King was ſending him commiſſioner to his Highneſs, and told his Lordſhip he was willing to make large conceſſions for peace. He told his Majeſty he could not expect that the Prince would accept of any leſs conceſſions than ſuch as would put it out of his power to do ſuch things as he had done heretofore againſt the laws. The Biſhop ſaid, that now he believed his Majeſty was willing to do all that could be required of him, and even to be reduced to the ſtate of a Duke of Venice, committing all the power of war and peace, and of making all officers, eccleſiaſtical and civil, to the Prince for his life-time; or that he would conſent to bills in parliament for that purpoſe, and to all other bills that ſhould be offered for the ſecurity of religion and civil rights. I did not think it worth the while to aſk him what reaſon he had to believe this, both becauſe I was not inſtructed on that

that ſubject, and alſo becauſe I did not think the church and kingdom would be very ſafe in ſuch an accommodation. I was not provided to anſwer what he ſaid, that this way was moſt agreeable to his Highneſs's declaration. But how unſafe it would be, I ſhewed him by all the reaſons in my inſtructions, which he was not able to anſwer. Yet I could not perſuade him to propoſe the other way of ceſſion, he has too great a tenderneſs for that, and beſides, he deſpaired of doing good in it. If there be any good way of bringing his Majeſty to this, it muſt be by ſome of the criminals that are in danger of the law; they are the men that have always had the greateſt power with him; and now their power is like to be ſo much the greater, becauſe he looks upon them as his ſufferers, though, in truth, he is theirs. And they have not done with him yet; for, as I am certainly informed, there was a throng of Papiſts about him laſt night, with Monſ. Barillon at the head of them; and this day there were thirty or forty at his Majeſty's dinner, and no other prieſt but a Jeſuit to ſay grace.

I beſeech God to direct his Highneſs in all theſe difficulties, and to bleſs all his councils with ſucceſs; and the ſame gracious God to continue your health, and to fill you with all comforts.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt faithful, humble ſervant,

W. A S A P H."

But the moſt material letter of all is the following anonymous one, which ſeems written by a perſon of condition, and ſuggeſts directly to the Prince to aſſume the crown. I cannot find out the hand writing.

Anonymous

Anonymous letter to the Prince of Orange, urging him to take the crown.

"THE occaſion of my preſenting this to your Highneſs, aroſe from my Lord Halifax coming on Friday laſt to me, to let me know that he and my Lord Nottingham and Lord Godolphin were appointed by the King to go commiſſioners to treat with your Highneſs; and that he received the employment with ſome trouble. I freely told his Lordſhip that he had reaſon ſo to do, for he would give very unhappy ſuſpicions that he was engaged in a deſign to give a ſtop to your Highneſs's advancing to this place by the delays of a treaty, and the miſtaken notion of an accommodation; for I plainly told him that nothing of that would be endured, for there was no room left for truſt, and every thing muſt be built upon new foundations. He ſeemed then fully to agree with me, and aſſured me he would not act ſo as to deſerve the leaſt cenſure of this nature.

Yeſterday, being Saturday, he came again to me in the evening, and told me, that though the trumpet that was ſent to your Highneſs for a paſſport was not yet returned, yet they were ordered to go next morning (which is this Sunday) to Windſor, and next day to Reading, and to expect to meet the trumpet by the way.

I perceived by this haſte that they were reduced almoſt to a dependency on this deſign, and, therefore, by the advice of ſome conſiderable perſons here, whoſe intereſt in the city and parliament will be very great, I have preſumed to give your Highneſs this account, that you may not only be prepared to judge of his proceedings, but alſo that you may be preſented with the general ſenſe of things here as near as I can collect them; and I may preſume to aſſure your Highneſs, that any delay

cauſed

cauſed by the notion or pretence of a treaty, will caſt a damp on the ſpirits of people, who are now raiſed with the mighty expectation of your advance, and are ſo far from having any thoughts of ſettling things by an accommodation, that they only fix upon hopes of remedy by the total change of perſons; judging it the greateſt folly to graft any thing upon the old ſtock; taught by too ſad experience that the difference of religion makes it irreconcileable to truſt though but the name of power with it; for all limitations of power are but notions that may be raiſed to interrupt or hinder that bleſſing to us all, which nothing but miſtakes of ſuch a nature can now prevent; and, therefore, as your Highneſs has come to redeem us from the threatening miſeries of Popery and Slavery, we can never ſuffer the name or truſt of power in any other perſon.

I doubt not but your Highneſs has in your clearer judgment diſcerned all this, and perhaps you have received accounts of the ſame nature from other hands; yet I, and thoſe friends I adviſe with, thought we could not diſcharge our duties to your Highneſs, and this great cauſe, in which we are all ſo deeply concerned, without our humble repreſentation of this to you, which, if it be agreeable to your ſenſe, we doubt not but your Highneſs will prevent all deſigns that may give the leaſt delay or interruption to your proceedings; for all things are in ſuch a poſture here to receive you, that we have reaſon to ſuppoſe that you will find little oppoſition from force, and therefore all other artifices will be attempted, which we doubt not but your great judgment and prudence will prevent.

The city keep themſelves prudently quiet, but are very well inclined, and reſolve upon your approach to appear in your aſſiſtance, which I receive now from a conſiderable perſon of it, who alſo believes, that if I can get releaſed by that time of this fit of the gout, that has now held me this three weeks, I may probably be of ſome uſe to them.

Your

Your Highneſs will have an account of the Duke of Norfolk's appearing very conſiderable in that country.

Laſtly, give me leave to preſent to your Highneſs the perſon I ſend this by, Mr. Richard Ophile, he is my wife's brother that died; at preſent a cornet of horſe in the King's army, who has been ready to embrace any occaſion that I ſhould direct him in to ſerve your Highneſs. I have ſo good an opinion of him in all reſpects, that I uſed him in this buſineſs; and humbly deſire your Highneſs to believe, that in any thing you command him he will not deceive your expectation."

There are alſo in the box letters from the Lords Delamer, Stamford, and Brandon (three perſons whoſe lives had been called in queſtion by the King) making apologies to the Prince for their want of ſpeed in joining him: offences, however, which he never afterwards forgave.

Lord Montague to King William.——Aſks a Dukedom.——Enumerates his ſervices in the queſtion of the Regency.

SIR, London, May 18th, 1694.

"I Did not think it very good manners to trouble your Majeſty in the middle of ſo great affairs as you had at your going away, elſe I ſhould have made it my humble requeſt that you would have been ſo gracious as to have done my family the ſame honour you have done to my Lord Clare, Bedford, and others. This requeſt had been made to you by the old Duke of Schomberg, who thought himſelf under ſome obligation to me for the encouragement I gave him to attend you in your expedition into England, but that I did not think it reaſonable to aſk the being put over the Duke of Shrewſbury's head; but now, Sir, that you have given him that rank, which the greatneſs of his family and perſonal merit has deſerved, I may, by your Majeſty's grace

grace and favour, pretend to the ſame dignity as well as any of the families you have promoted, being myſelf the head of a family that many ages ago had great honours and dignities, when I am ſure theſe had none; and we having loſt them by the civil wars between York and Lancaſter, I am now below the two younger branches, my Lord Mancheſter and Sandwich. I have to add to my pretenſion the having married the Duke of Newcaſtle's eldeſt daughter; and it has been the practice of all your predeceſſors, whenever they were ſo gracious to keep up the honour of a family by the female line, to beſtow it upon thoſe who married the eldeſt, without there were ſome perſonal prejudice to the perſon who had that claim. I may add, Sir, another pretenſion, which is the ſame for which you have given a Dukedom to the Bedford family; the having been one of the firſt, and held out till the laſt, in that cauſe which, for the happineſs of England, brought you to the crown. I hope it will not be thought a leſs merit to be alive and ready on all occaſions to venture all again for your ſervice, than if I had loſt my head when my Lord Ruſſel did. I could not then have had the opportunity of doing the nation the ſervice I did, when there was ſuch oppoſition made by the Jacobite party, in bringing my Lord Huntington, the biſhop of Durham, and my Lord Aſhley, to vote againſt the Regency, and for your having the crown; which was carried but by thoſe three voices and my own. I ſhould not put you in mind of this, but hoping that ſo fortunate and ſo ſeaſonable a ſervice as this, may ſupply all my other wants of merit; and which, ſince you were pleaſed to promiſe me in your bed-chamber at St. James's before you were King, never to forget, you will not now that are ſo great and ſo gracious a one. The Duke of Shrewſbury can further ſatisfy you what perſecution I ſuffered, and what loſſes I ſuſtained in the

two laſt reigns, which muſt make the mortification greater if this humble ſuit be refuſed to,

Sir, your moſt dutiful
and obedient ſubject and ſervant,
MOUNTAGU."

This letter is ſingular in ſeveral reſpects: Firſt, It ſuppoſes that Ruſſel's conſpiracy had been agreeable to the Prince of Orange. Secondly, It inſinuates that Lord Mountagu had been a party to it, whereas it is certain he was not. I found, in Barillon's correſpondence, that infinite pains were taken in England to fix his acceſſion to that conſpiracy, upon him, but in vain. But it muſt be doubly curious to thoſe who, in this Appendix, have ſeen the intrigues of Mountague with the French court in the reign of Charles the IId. King William refuſed the requeſt of this letter.

In the *Depot.* Barillon's remaining diſpatches, after the Prince of Orange's landing, contain the following anecdotes.

In the *Depot.* His letter of 25 November, 1688, mentions a force of French troops being ready at Dunkirk and Calais to ſail for England.

His letter of 1ſt December, relates that Lord Melfort had preſſed James to ſeize all the principal perſons of the whig party, as ſoon as the Prince of Orange had landed.

Letter of 11th December, expreſſes King James's aſtoniſhment at the deſertion of Douglas's Scotch regiment, becauſe, of all his regiments, he truſted it the moſt.

In this letter, and that of 27th December, Barillon ſays James had ordered Jefferies to reſide in the palace, in order that the Great Seal might be at hand to be carried off; and that James believed the loſs of the Great Seal could not be repaired, and that the conſtitution muſt fall looſe by his diſappearance.

Letter

Letter of 13th of December, deſcribes the various and contradictory advices with which King James was tormented from all quarters.

Letter of 22d Decemb. deſcribes the indignation of the Engliſh common ſoldiers upon hearing Lord Feverſham's order for diſbanding them read.

Letter of 24th December, relates that when King James was diſcovered by the fiermen in his firſt flight, one of them knelt and wept; that upon this James wept, and the other fiſhermen who had behaved ill to him before, at the ſight of his tears, fell upon their knees; and that at Feverſham the common people behaved to him with far more reſpect than thoſe of better condition; for which Barillon aſſigns this reaſon, that theſe laſt were afraid of the Prince of Orange.

Lord Dartmouth's notes on Biſhop Burnet's hiſtory, contains the following anecdotes of the time in queſtion.

Extract 1ſt, from Lord Dartmouth's notes.

Note on p. 790. of Biſhop Burnet's hiſtory. "The Duke of Shrewſbury told me, the Prince was much ſurpriſed at his backwardneſs in joining with him, and began to ſuſpect he was betrayed, and had ſome thoughts of returning; in which caſe he reſolved to publiſh the names of all thoſe that had invited him over, which he ſaid would be a juſt return for their treachery, folly, and cowardice. Lord Shrewſbury told him he believed the great difficulty amongſt them was, who ſhould run the hazard of being the firſt, but if the ice were once broke, they would be as much afraid of being the laſt; which proved very true."

Extract 2d.

Note on p. 819. "There was a great meeting at the Earl of Devonſhire's, where the diſpute ran very high

high between Lord Halifax and Lord Danby; one for the Prince, the other for the Princeſs: at laſt Lord Halifax ſaid, he thought it would be very proper to know the Prince's own ſentiments, and deſired Fagel would ſpeak, who defended himſelf a great while, by ſaying he knew nothing of his mind upon that ſubject, but if they would know his own, he believed the Prince would not like to be his wife's gentleman-uſher; upon which Lord Danby ſaid, he hoped they all knew enough now, for his part he knew too much, and broke up the aſſembly, as Sir Michael Wharton who was preſent told me."

Extract 3d.

Note on p. 808. "The Duke of Leeds told me, that Lord Tyrconell ſent ſeveral meſſages to King William, that he was ready to deliver up Ireland, if he would but give him a decent excuſe, by ſending any thing that looked like a force to demand it: but Lord Halifax told him, that if Ireland was quiet, there would be no pretence for keeping up an army: and if there was none, he would be turned out, as eaſily as he had been brought in; for it was impoſſible to pleaſe England long, and he might ſee they began to be diſcontented already."

END OF PART FIRST.

APPENDIX

TO

Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs

OF

GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.

PART THE SECOND.

APPENDIX.

BOOK I.

Letter of Lord Sunderland to King William, dated Amſterdam, March 8th, immediately after the revolution.—Anxious about his own fate—reminds King William of his ſervices in the revolution.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

IF I had not followed the advice of my friends rather than my own ſenſe, I ſhould not have been out of England at this time; for I thought I had ſerved the publick ſo importantly in contributing what lay in me towards the advancing of your glorious undertaking, that the having been in an odious miniſtry ought not to have obliged me to be abſent: but nothing makes me repine ſo much at it, as that I could not give my vote for placing your Majeſty on the throne, as I would have done with as much joy and zeal as any man alive: and now moſt heartily wiſh you all the greatneſs and proſperity you deſerve, which is to wiſh you more than any man ever had. I muſt now beg leave to offer to your Majeſty my moſt humble acknowledgments for your juſtice and grace in ordering me to be ſet at liberty. I came into this country becauſe I deſired to be intirely in your power, and will continue in it till you forbid me, which I hope in charity your Majeſty will never do. I ſhould be ſure you never would, if my condition were worthy of your conſideration. Whereever I am in the world, your commands, as they ought, ſhall be moſt exactly obeyed by,

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

Your Majeſty's moſt faithful, moſt humble,
and moſt obedient ſubject and ſervant,

Amſterdam,
March the 8th. SUNDERLAND.

[In King William's cheſt.]

Lady Sunderland to King William.—A ſimilar letter.

SIR,

THE relief I had by your Majeſty's juſtice and grace from the ſharpeſt apprehenſions that ever I lay under, may, I hope, be allowed a ſufficient plea for the liberty I now take to preſent you my moſt humble acknowledgments for that great charity of yours: I dare not impute it to any other motive; but however unfortunate my preſent circumſtances are, I have this to ſupport me, that my thoughts as well as actions have been, are, and I dare ſay ever will be, what they ought to be to your Majeſty; and not only upon the account of the duty I now owe you. But long before your glorious undertaking, which was founded upon ſo many great and eſtimable qualities in you, that I can never change my opinion, whatever my fortune may be in this world; and may I but hope for ſo much of your Majeſty's favour as to live quietly in a country where you have ſo much power, till it ſhall pleaſe God to let me end my days at my own home, I ſhall ever be moſt truly and humbly thankful. Nothing can make me more than I am already,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt humble,
obedient ſubject and ſervant,

Amſterdam,
March 11th. A. SUNDERLAND.

[In King William's cheſt.]

Letter of Lord Sunderland to King William.—Anxious about his fate.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

YOUR diſpleaſure is of all things the moſt grievous. I deſerve pity upon many accounts. That I beſeech you do withdraw, and forgive my failings, and

and dispose of me for ever as you shall think fit. God Almighty preserve you for ever. I am,

May it please your Majesty,

Your most faithful, most humble, and

Thursday: most dutiful subject and servant,

SUNDERLAND.

[In King William's chest.]

Remark.] The above three letters shew the difficult situation into which the double conduct of lord and lady Sunderland (as double-dealing always does) had thrown both themselves and King William.

Remark.] In memoirs written by sir John Lowther, first lord of the treasury to King William, part of which sir James Lowther was so obliging as to shew me, there is a very strong picture of the distresses which King William was under in England, from want of money.

But the strongest picture of all is in a letter in King William's chest, from lord Godolphin to King William, without a date, but appearing from its contents to have been written in the year 1693, This letter containing the true state of parties and of the King immediately after the revolution, and being a very capital one in many respects, I print the whole of it.

For the KING.

SIR,

HAVING according to my duty made it my business not only to give a constant attendance in this house all this sessions, but at all meetings to which I was called, to consider how to carry on your affairs; and having thereby had an opportunity to make several observations that may prove for your Majesty's ser-

vice to know, I think myself obliged with all imaginable submission, to lay them before your Majesty.

And it being generally discoursed as if your Majesty had a peace in prospect, you'll pardon me, Sir, if from those observations, in the first place, I presume to say how much, in my poor opinion, it will contribute to your future happiness, if it should, if possible, be perfected before the meeting either of this or any other parliament.

When your Majesty considers the present state of the kingdom, and the factions that are in it, you'll find that the two great points that require more especially your care, are how to manage the partyes so as to maintain yourself against your enemies abroad, and at the same time so to preserve your authority at home, that the necessity of doing the one may not bring you to such circumstances that it will be impossible for you to keep the other; and this task is more difficult because the Toreys, who are friends to prerogative, are so mingled with Jacobites, that they are not to be confided in during the war; and the whigs, who are, for that reason, of necessity to be employed to support your cause against the common enemy, will at the same time endeavour all they can to make use of that opportunity to lessen your just power. And let them pretend what they will to your Majesty, the several instances they have given this sessions of their intentions that way, put this matter out of all doubt to any person who has taken the least pains to observe them, and it's beyond all dispute manifest, that though they will give money to keep out King James, yet they'll never give you one vote to support your just right in any point where (what they please to call) the interest of the people is concerned.

This being the condition of your partye, which I presume your Majesty will allow to be too true, I am confident, when you look into the funds that are given for the service of this year, and consider how much they lessen and incumber your hereditary revenue; and

when

when you know, Sir, that if the war continue, it will be impoſſible to ſave the cuſtoms (which is the only tax now left you can expect will ever be given for a longer time than from year to year) from being likewiſe pawned for five years at leaſt: I preſume to ſay, Sir, theſe things conſidered, your Majeſty will be of opinion that it is more your intereſt, with relation to your affairs at home, to have a peace this ſummer, than ever it was ſince you ſat upon the throne of England; and that if you have it not, as things have been managed, the next year's expences will ſo anticipate thoſe branches of the revenue that ever have been kept hitherto for the ordinary ſupport of the government, that it will be ſcarce poſſible that your Majeſty ſhould ever ſee an eaſy day, though it ſhould pleaſe God hereafter to give you ſuch a peace as yourſelf could wiſh: and the ground-work on which I build this aſſertion is, that it ever was and ever will be impracticable for any king of England to be the leaſt happy, who muſt depend upon a parliament every year to give a million of money for his common and neceſſary ſupport; and that this will be your Majeſty's circumſtance, if the war be another year continued, will, I fear, by the following account of expence of this year, and by the gueſs or computation of what may the funds for the next, appear to be very near a demonſtration.

The funds for 94.

Land-tax, beſides what is paid thereout to the defect of the poll, to this year's charge, —— ——	1,500,000
2d, Ninepenſe upon the exciſe granted for 16 years, to commence from May, 97; the ſalt to make good the fund in the mean time, to rais by way of lottery for this year's ſervis, —— ——	1,000,000
	2,500,000

Brought over	2,500,000
3d, Ninepenſe upon the exciſe, granted for 97 years, to commence from May, 97.; the tunag being to ſupply the ſame in the main time. to rais upon perpetual intereſt and lives for this year's ſervice,	1,500,000
Quarterly poll given for —— —	700,000
Hackney coaches to be licenſed for 21 years	100,000
Paper act for four years, —— ——	230,000
	5,030,000

Note, The 2 ninepenſes granted this year upon the exciſe, with that which was laſt year given upon the ſame revenues, for raiſing a million of money upon lives, are allowed to ſink the hereditary exciſe above 250,000 per annum; and the remainder being made a collateral ſecurity, that the ſalt and tunage ſhall anſwer 280,000 per annum, till May, 1695, will, in probability, be thereby ſunk about 100,000 a-year more for that; from the ſalt branch muſt not hereafter be expected more then 300,000 per annum; though formerly it yielded when the half crown ſtood ſingly, (and that is only hereditary) 650,000*l.* a-year. I take it for granted that if the war continue, it will be impoſſible for your Majeſty to leſſen your charge, for as the confederats muſt take it ill if the land forces are not the ſame, for the parliament will never ſuffer the navy to be decreaſed, therefore I compute the money neceſſary to be given to be likewiſe 5,000,000.

A gueſs at the funds for 95.

Four Shillings in the pound upon land, unleſs it be more equally aſſeſt, (and that the major part of the houſe will never allow) will not yield above 1,800,000, and of that then will probably be anticipated by the clauſes of credit given this year about 600,000, ſo that to next year's charge muſt not be expected more than —— —	1,200,000

The

The pole can't poſſibly be repeated next year, in regard it will be in collection in April next, nor more can be got upon trade, ſince the tunnage is now granted.

There can be no more money raiſed by proteſts for want of funds, there being no revenew out of which to make any, but the ſmall remainder of the hereditary exciſe.

For that not only the cuſtoms muſt be pawn'd for a conſiderable time, but a further charge upon land, and ſeveral heads of exciſes muſt be brought to make up the ſum wanting; and when the cuſtoms are ſo pawn'd, the hereditary exciſe part leſſened for ever, and an other part made a colatral ſecurity for three years, to its prejudice 100,000 per annum; and the ninepence (that uſed to be given to the crown in caſes of neceſſity) ſettled two of them for 99 years, and the third for 19 years to come, nothing is more plain, than that your Majeſty has not a revenew of your own to depend upon at preſent, of above 400,000 per annum, nor will there be any other in proſpect when the uſual ones are diſpoſed on as aboveſaid; for that computing the neceſſary charge of the government, in time of peace, at 1,400,000 a year, which is the loweſt it has been eſtimated at, a million muſt conſtantly be raiſed out of your ſubjects pockets, by extraordinary ways for your ſupport, and how uneaſy that will make your government to yourſelf, I leave your Majeſty to judge. I ſhall only add, that it is manifeſtly the deſigns of ſome people to keep neceſſities always upon you, and it was from ſuch that the reverſion of the 600,000 upon the Eaſt India company, and the reſolutions to charge the cuſtoms this year, proceeded. And nothing, I can aſſure your Majeſty, prevented the latter but the warmth you ſpoke with on that ſubject to the ſecretary.

A new

A new parliament will not help this matter, for let who will be the givers, there will remain ſtill the ſame ways of giving; and let what ſort of men ſoever be choſen, I dare anſwer for't, a majority of them will be much rather for mortgaging the revenue of the crown, than their own land; and this makes me have reaſon to fear your Majeſty will never again have ſuch an offer as was made you this ſeſſions; and refuſed by thoſe that pretended to be your friends, and ſoon after repented that it was ever tendered, by thoſe that were your enemys; when, upon thinking on't more thoroughly, they found of what infinite advantage it would have been to your government.

But, Sir, ſince I have mentioned a new parliament, and knowing you will be preſs'd by the whiggs to have one, being ſanguine enough to imagine they ſhall be able to get a greater majority in the next than they can pretend to in this, you'll pardon me for troubling you with a word or two on that ſubject, and in my humble opinion it ſeems to be unqueſtionably your intereſt, if the war continue, to continue the parliament; and if the war ends, to let that end with it. And my reaſons for this opinion are:

1ſt, Theſe are the ſame men that engaged your Majeſty in the war, and are obliged by their votes to ſupport you in it.

2dly, The experience you have that this houſe will do it, ought to be an unanſwerable argument againſt parting with it, for a new one, when you do not know whether they will be for you or not.

3dly, The great reaſon that's given for diſſolving this, being, becauſe it's ſaid they have an ill reputation, ought not to ſway in this affair, but the contrary; ſince that is only a ſcandal raiſed by the enemys of the government; and the ſupporting your Majeſty being the crime they lay to their charge, your Majeſty's

Majeſty's friends ought to eſteem them for that, for which they are hated by their enemys.

4thly, Your Majeſty has for this 4 years laſt paſt been giving all employments to members of the houſe, which though it has not ſignified much in any party buſineſs, yet in the grand affair of carrying on the war, they have been of mighty ſervice, for there is but very few inſtances of any of them but which upon occaſion appear to be hearty for your government, in relation to the foreign diſpute, and many of theſe will be left out in a new choice, which will be no ſmall prejudice to your Majeſty, conſidering that moſt of your enemys in the houſe of commons are made ſo, becauſe they have not places like the reſt.

But what's the moſt dangerous conſequence of a new election is, that it will throw the ballance too much on the one ſide or the other, for either the Whigs will, according to their expectation, get it into their hands intirely, and then I fear your Majeſty will think the impoſitions they'll be laying upon you unreaſonable; or otherwiſe the Torys will have the aſcendant, and then it's to be doubted that they, in revenge to the Whigs, will, for the major part, be governed by the artifices of the Jacobites, and from ſuch a misfortune nothing leſs than deſtruction can proceed.

Whereas, as the houſe is now conſtituted, the Whigs are not ſtrong enough to make uſe of the neceſſitys of your government as much as they are inclined to do; neither are the Tories numerous enough to reſent your Majeſty's favouring the Whigs. Sir, upon the whole I ſhall preſume to conclude as I began, that the parliament that begun with the war, ſhould likewiſe end with it, and not before.

And if it pleaſed God to grant your Majeſty an honourable peace, and you would then be pleaſed to ſett up for a party of your own, and let all people ſee that if they expected your favour they muſt depend upon

you

you for it, and not lett any one hope for promotion for being true to a faction, but by ſerving of you; I preſume to ſay that the war being ended, a new parliament called, and ſuch meaſures purſued, your Majeſty would quickly find, that the Jacobites would turn moderate churchmen, and loyall ſubjects, and the Whigs much more obſequious courtiers, and eaſier ſervants, than they now are.

I ſhall now conclude with begging your Majeſty's pardon moſt humbly for the trouble I have preſumed to give you, and I am perſuaded if you knew with what zeal this is intended for your ſervice, you would not refuſe to grant it to,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt dutifull
and obedient ſubject and ſervant,

GODOLPHIN.

Remark.] While King William was engaged in his project of reconciling the religious differences of England, he was at great pains to find out the proportions between churchmen, diſſenters, and papiſts. In his cheſt there is the following curious report in conſequence of an enquiry upon that head.

The NUMBER *of* FREEHOLDERS *in* ENGLAND.

	Conformiſts.	Non-conformiſts.	Papiſts.
Province of Cant.	2,123,362	93,151	11,878
of York	353,892	15,525	1,978
in both,	2,477,254	108,676	13,856

Conformiſts,

Conformists,	2,477,254
Nonconformists	108,676
	2,585,930
Papist,	13,856
In all England,	2,599,786

According to which account, the proportion of
Conformists to Non-conformists, is $22\frac{4}{5}$ to one.
Conformists to Papists, is $178\frac{10}{13}$
Conformists and Non-conformists together to Papists, is $186\frac{2}{3}$

PAPISTS *in the severall provinces above the age of* 16.

Canterbury	142
London,	2,069
Winchester,	968
Rochester,	64
Norwich,	671
Lincoln,	1,244
Ely	14
Chichester,	385
Salisbury,	548
Exeter,	298
Bath and Wells,	176
Worcester,	719
Coventry and Litchfield,	1,949
Hereford	714
Gloucester	124
Bristol,	199
Peterborough,	163
Oxford,	358
St. David's,	217
Landaff,	551
Bangor,	19
St. Asaph,	275
Total of these,	11,867

Canterbury,

	Conformists.	Non-conformists.	Papists.	Conformists to Non-conformists, as 1 to	Conformists to Papists, as 1 to	Conformists to both, as 1 to	Non-conformists to Papists, as 1 to
Canterbury,	59596	6287	143	9 R 3013	419 R 98	9 R 1735	44 R 39
London,	263385	20893	2069	12 R 12669	127 R 622	11 R 10805	10 R 201
Winchester,	150937	7904	968	19 R 761	155 R 823	17 R 113	8 R 160
Rochester,	27886	1752	64	15 R 1606	445 R 46	15 R 646	27 R 24
Norwich,	168760	7934	671	21 R 2146	251 R 339	19 R 465	11 R 553
Lincolne,	215077	10001	1244	21 R 5056	172 R 1109	19 R 1422	8 R 49
Ely,	30917	1416	14	21 R 1181	2208 R 5	21 R 887	101 R 2
Chichester,	49164	2452	385	20 R 124	129 R 399	17 R 935	6 R 142
Salisbury,	103671	4075	548	25 R 1796	189 R 99	22 R 1964	7 R 239
Exeter,	207570	5406	298	38 R 2142	696 R 162	36 R 2326	18 R 42
Bath and Wells,	145464	5856	176	24 R 4920	826 R 88	24 R 696	33 R 48
Worcester,	37489	1325	79	28 R 389	52 R 101	18 R 697	1 R 606
Coventry and Litchfield,	155720	5042	1949	30 R 4460	79 R 1749	22 R 1918	2 R 1144
Hereford,	65942	1076	714	61 R 606	92 R 254	36 R 2602	1 R 362
Glocester,	64734	2363	128	26 R 296	505 R 84	25 R 2449	18 R 59
Bristoll,	66200	2200	199	30 R 200	332 R 132	27 R 1487	11 R 11
Peterborough,	91444	2031	167	43 R 1961	591 R 111	40 R 1684	12 R 125
Oxford,	38812	1122	358	34 R 664	108 R 148	26 R 1332	3 R 48
St. David's,	68242	2368	217	28 R 1938	314 R 104	26 R 1032	12 R 198
Landaffe,	39248	719	551	54 R 422	71 R 147	30 R 1148	1 R 168
Bangor,	28016	247	19	113 R 95	1474 R 10	105 R 86	13
St. Asaph,	45088	635	275	71 R 3	163 R 263	49 R 498	2 R 85
	2123362	93104	11876				

There are in the province of Canterbury 23740 papiſts, half of theſe is under the age of 16 years, viz. 11870; a ſeventh part of theſe are aged, and above 3391. Taking out of the ſaid number of papiſts the two laſt ſums, which make in all 15261; there remains then 8479, of which the one half is women: there remains therefore in the province of Canterbury, fitt to bear arms, 4239 papiſts.

The province of York bears a ſixth part of the taxes, and hath in it a ſixth part of the people as that of Canterbury hath, (viz.) 3956, whereof half are under the age of 16, (viz.) 1978; and a ſeventh part above 60, (viz.) 565; and of the aforeſaid ſixth part one half is women.

The total therefore of the papiſts of the province of York fit to bear arms is 701; joining which to the total of the papiſts in the province of Canterbury fitt to bear arms, makes the total of the papiſts throughout all England fitt to bear arms to be 4940.

There being every where as many under the age of 16 as above it, the total of the whole papiſts in the whole province is 23740.

An Account of the Province of Canterbury.

In the taking of theſe accounts we find theſe things obſervable:

1. That many left the church upon the late indulgence who before did frequent it.
2. The ſending for theſe enquirys hath cauſed many to frequent the church.
3. That they are Walloons chiefly that make up the number of diſſenters in Canterbury, Sandwich, and Dover.
4. That the preſbyterians are divided, ſome of them come ſometime to church, therefore ſuch are not wholly diſſenters upon the 3d enquiry.
5. A conſiderable part of diſſenters are not of any ſect whatſoever.

6. Of

6. Of thoſe that come to church very many do not receive the ſacrament.
7. At Aſhford and at other places we find a new ſort of hereticks, after the name of Muggleton, a London taylor, in number 30.
8. The reſt of the diſſenters are preſbyterians, anabaptiſts, independants, quakers, about equal numbers, only 2 or 3 called ſelf-willers profeſſedly.
9. The heads and preachers of the ſeveral factions are ſuch as had a great ſhare in the late rebellion.

The Rev. Dr. Percy was ſo good as to give me a few memorandums in the hand writing of Lord Nottingham ſecretary of ſtate to King William, among which was the following:

Memorandum by Lord Nottingham.

April 9th. Letter from King James to the Queen, that he had hitherto been willing to make excuſes for what had been done, and thought her obedience to her huſband, and compliance with the nation, might have prevailed, but that her being crowned was in her own power; and if ſhe did it, while he and the prince of Wales were living, the curſes of an angry father would fall on her, as well as of a God who commanded obedience to parents. Princeſs of Denmark had a Letter alſo. King William declared there is nothing he has done, but he had the queen's advice and approbation.

BOOK II.

DOCTOR PITCAIRN, one of the firſt of modern Latin poets, wrote the following fine epitaph upon lord Dundee:

Ultime Scotorum, potuit quo ſoſpite ſolo
Libertas patriæ ſalva fuiſſe tuæ:
Te moriente, novas accepit Scotia cives,
Accepitque novos, te moriente, deos.
Illa tibi ſupereſſe negat, tu non potes illi:
Ergo Caledoniæ nomen inane vale.
Tuque vale, gentis priſcæ fortiſſime ductor,
Ultime Scotorum, atque ultime Grame, vale.

Thus tranſlated by Mr. *Dryden.*

Oh laſt and beſt of Scots! who didſt maintain
Thy country's freedom from a foreign reign.
New people fill the land, now thou art gone,
New gods the temples, and new kings the throne.
Scotland and thou did in each other live;
Nor wouldſt thou her, nor could ſhe thee ſurvive.
Farewell, who dying didſt ſupport her ſtate,
And couldſt not fall but with thy country's fate.

The following letter from lord Strathnaver, to lord Dundee, and lord Dundee's anſwer, were given to me by my worthy fellow labourer in hiſtorical enquiries, Sir David Dalrymple.

Lord Strathnaver to Lord Dundee.——Adviſes Dundee to make his peace.

My Lord,

THE concern that many equally intereſted in us both, has for your lordſhip, abſtracting from that reſpect which your own merit made me have, cannot but occaſion regrate in me, to ſee that the courſes you take, tend inevitably to the ruin of you and yours, if perſiſted in. I cannot therefore but wiſh, that you would follow the duke of Gordon's example, and I am perſuaded it will be found the beſt courſe; neither ſhall your friends who at this time dare not well meddle, be wanting to ſhow their affection to you, and intereſt in the ſtanding of your family, and I hope you will do me the juſtice to believe that none wiſhes it better, or will more effectually lay himſelf out in it, than,

Inverneſs, 3d of July, 1689.

My Lord, &c. STRATHNAVER.

Lord Dundee to Lord Strathnaver.——His ſpirited anſwer.

My Lord, Struan, 15th July, 1689.

YOUR lordſhip's, dated the 3d, I received the 13th, and would have returned an anſwer before now, had I not been called ſuddenly to Enverlochie, to give orders anent the forces, arms, and amunition ſent from Irland. My lord, I am extreamly ſenſible of the obligation I have to you, for offering your endeavours for me, and giving me advice in the deſperate eſtate you thought our affairs were in. I am perſuaded it flows from your ſincere goodneſs and concern for me and mine, and in return, I aſſure your lordſhip, I have had no leſs concern for you; and was thinking of making the like addreſs to you; but delayed it till things ſhould appear more clear to you. I am ſorry your lordſhip ſhould

ſhould be ſo far abuſed as to think, that there is any ſhadow of appearance of ſtability in this new ſtructure of government theſe men have framed to themſelves: they made you, I doubt not, believe, that Darie (Londonderry) was relieved three weeks ago. By printed accounts, and I can aſſure you, it never was relieved, and now is taken. They told you, the Ingliſh fleet and Dutch were maſters of the ſea. I know for certain the French is, and in the Chanel; in teſtimony whereof they have defeated our Scots fleet. For as they came alongſt they fell on the two friggats, killed the captains, and ſeiſed the ſhips, and brought the men priſoners to Mull. They tell you Schomberg is going to Irland to carry the war thither. I aſſure you the king has landed a conſiderable body of forces there, and will land himſelf amongſt our friends in the weſt (whom I am ſorry for) very ſoon. So, my lord, having given you a clear and true proſpect of affairs, which I am afraid amongſt your folks you are not uſed with, I leave you to judge if I or you, your family or myn, be moſt in danger. However, I acknowledge francly, I am no leſs obliged to your lordſhip, ſeeing you made me an offer of your aſſiſtance in a tyme when you thought I needed it. Wherein I can ſerve your lordſhip or family at any tyme you think convenient, you may freely employ me. For, as far as my duty will allow me in the circumſtances we ſtand, I will ſtudy your well as becomes,

My Lord,
Your moſt humble ſervant,
DUNDEE.

Remark.] The following ſpeech of King James, at St. Germains, to the Scotch officers when reduced to a company of centinels, is a ſtrong inſtance, how a mind naturally ſevere and weak, may be humanized, and even elevated by misfortunes.

King James's ſpeech to the Scotch officers, when reduced into a company of centinels at St. Germains.

MY own misfortunes are not ſo nigh my heart as yours. It grieves me beyond what I can expreſs, to ſee ſo many brave and worthy gentlemen, who had once the proſpect of being the chief officers in my army, reduced to the ſtations of private centinels. Nothing but your loyalty, and of a few of my ſubjects in Britain, who are forced from their allegiance by the prince of Orange, and who I know will be ready on all occaſions to ſerve me, and my diſtreſſed family, could make me willing to live. The ſenſe of what all of you have done, and undergone for your loyalty, hath made ſo deep an impreſſion in my heart, that if ever it pleaſe God to reſtore me, it is impoſſible I can be forgetfull of your ſervices and ſufferings. Neither can there be any poſts in the armies of my dominions, but what you have juſt pretenſions to. As for my ſon, and your prince, he is your own blood, a child capable of any impreſſions; and as his education will be from you, it is not ſuppoſable he can forget your merits.

At your own deſires, you are now going a long march, far diſtant from me. I have taken care to provide you with money, ſhoes, ſtockings, and other neceſſarys. Fear God and love one another. Write your wants particularly to me, and depend upon it always to find me your parent and king.

BOOK III.

IN King William's cheſt there is the following letter from the Princeſs Sophia to King William, upon occaſion of that prince's endeavouring to bring the family of Hanover into the line of ſucceſſion.

The Princeſs Sophia to King William.——Thanks for endeavouring to bring her family into the ſucceſſion.

SIRE,

C'EST un advantage ſi grand pour moy de me voir honnoré des marques de la bienveillance de Votre Majeſté, que j'oſe prendre la liberté de vous en temoigner ma tres humble reconnoiſſance. Le chevalier Colt m'a dit fort particulierement l'obligation que je vous ai. Je veux croire que ceux qui ſont contraire a la volonté de V. M. ont une faculté prophetique qui leur inſpire qu'il ne leur manquera point de ſucceſſeur en Angleterre, des perſonnes royales que le parlement a deja nommé. Pour moy, je ne vivrai pas aſſez longtems pour en voir l'iſſue ; mais tant que je pourrois reſpirer je ſerai devouée, avec tous les miens, au ſervice de V. M. pour m'attirer la continuation de l'honneur de ſes bonnes graces, et qu'elle me puiſſe conter toujours pour,

SIRE,

De V. M.

La tres humble et tres obeiſſante ſervante,

SOPHIE.

Tranſlation.

IT is ſo great an advantage for me to ſee myſelf honoured with marks of your majeſty's goodneſs, that I preſume to take the liberty to teſtify to you my humble gratitude for it. The chevalier Colt has told me

very particularly the obligation which I am under to you. I am apt to believe that thoſe perſons who act contrary to your majeſty's intentions, have a prophetical faculty which gives them the inſpiration that there will not be wanting a ſucceſſor in England, from amongſt thoſe royal perſons whom the parliament has already named. As for me, I ſhall not live long enough to ſee the iſſue: but as long as I breathe, I and all mine ſhall be devoted to the ſervice of your majeſty, in order to draw to me the continuation of the honour of your good graces, and that you may always count upon me for,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's

moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

SOPHIA.

In the ſame cheſt there is a letter from the Princeſs Sophia to King William upon his elevation to the throne; the tenderneſs of which, to an unfortunate though guilty prince, does honour to her memory.

The Princeſs Sophia to King William upon his elevation to the throne—her joy—her pity for King James—her attachment to the Proteſtant religion.

SIRE,

APRES la profeſſion que j'ay toujours faite d'ètre une tres humble ſervante de Votre Majeſté, je crois qu'elle ne ſcauroit douter de la part que je prens en tous ce qui contribue a ſon elevation et a ſa gloire: ce n'eſt pas que je ne plaigne le Roy Jaque, qui m'honnoroit de ſon amitié. Je craindrois que Votre Majeſté auroit mechante opinion de ma ſincerité ſi je luy cachois ce ſentiment, Je ſuis même perſuadé que ma franchiſe vous donnera melieure opinion de moy; et que V. M. croira plus facilement la proteſtation que je luy fait de mes vœux pour ſa proſperité, et de l'opinion que j'ay qu'elle merite la couronne qu'elle porte, par mille endroits que je ne veus nommer de peur de choquer ſa modeſtié.

modeſtié. Cependant, comme il a plut a Dieu de faire Votre Majeſté le protecteur de notre religion, j'eſpere qu'il la mettra auſſi dans un etat a avoir les bras libre, pour pouvoir aſſiſter nos autres pauvres mortels, qui aprochons, par la deſolation de nos voiſins, de la bete mugiſante qui tache a nous devorer, afin que tous ceux qui ne ſont pas papiſtes puiſſent par ſucceſſion maintenir la religion juſqu'en eternité en Angleterre et ailleurs, dont nous faſſons profeſſion, et que V. M. me puiſſe conter parmy une des plus zelées, qui ſera tout ſa vie,

SIRE,

De Votre Majeſté,

La tres humble et tres obeiſſante ſervante,

SOPHIE, P. PALATINE.

Tranſlation.

SIR,

AFTER the profeſſion which I have always made of being an humble ſervant to Your Majeſty, I believe you cannot doubt of the part which I take in every thing that contributes to your elevation and your glory: yet I lament King James, who honoured me with his friendſhip. I ſhould be afraid that Your Majeſty would have a bad opinion of my ſincerity if I concealed from you this ſentiment. I am even perſuaded that my candour will give you a better opinion of me, and that your Majeſty will the more eaſily believe the proteſtation which I make you of my prayers for your proſperity, and of the opinion I have, that you deſerve the crown which you wear, in a thouſand reſpects which I am unable to name, from the fear of ſhocking your modeſty. However, as it has pleaſed God to make Your Majeſty the protector of our religion, I hope you will put it alſo in a ſtate to have its arms free, to aſſiſt us poor mortals, who, by the deſolation of our neighbours, are near to that roaring beaſt which endea-

vours to devour us, in order that all thoſe who are not papiſts may ſucceſſively maintain the religion we profeſs to all eternity, in England and elſewhere; and that Your Majeſty may count among the moſt zealous, one who ſhall be all her life,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's

moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

SOPHIA, P. PALATINE.

BOOK IV.

IN King William's cheſt are the diſpatches of the duke of Schomberg, in Ireland, to King William. I print the following ones becauſe they paint in lively colours the ſtate of the army in that country, clear Schomberg of the imputation of inactivity, which has been unjuſtly thrown upon him, and do honour to the talents of a man who wrote with the elegant ſimplicity of Cæſar, and to whoſe reputation and conduct, next to thoſe of King William, the Engliſh nation owes the revolution.

Part of a letter from the Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Things not in order.

Heyleek, 9 Aouſt, 1689.

LES vaiſſeaux de vivres deſtinés pour Londonderry et pour Kirck n'ont pu partir que ce matin. Ce qui cauſe bien de l'ambaras eſt, qu'il ny à pas d'ordre icy de l'âmirauté, pour les vivres des vaiſſeaux de guerre, qui ſont preſque finis; il à falu en prendre des nôtres.

Jây été forcé de faire donner preſque á touſt les regiments cinq centt mouſquets ou fuſils, tant parce que les

les nouveaux ſoldats les rompent, que parce qu'ils ſont aſſes mal faits, et fort vieils, et que peutetre ſieur Henry Sheils, qui en à eu l'inſpection, peut avoir pris des preſents pour recevoir de mechantes armes.

Tranſlation.

Heyleek, 9 Aug. 1689.

THE veſſels with proviſions intended for Londonderry and for Kirck could not fail till this morning. It cauſes much embarraſſment that there is no order of the admiralty here for proviſions for the ſhips of war. Their proviſions are almoſt finiſhed; they have been obliged to take ſome of ours.

I have been forced to give five hundred muſkets to almoſt every regiment, both becauſe the new ſoldiers break them, and becauſe they are ill enough made, and very old, and becauſe perhaps Mr. Henry Shales, who had the inſpection of them, may have taken preſents to receive bad arms.

Part of a letter from Duke Schomberg to King William. —Diſagreement among officers.

Carickuergus, le 26 Aouſt, 1689.

JE ne puis pas paſſer ſous ſilence que Meſſrs. Goulon et Cambon m'ont donné beaucoup de peine. Il ſe trouve que le premier eſt un peu brutal, et que le dernier eſt chicanneur ſur ſes mathematiques; à cela ce joint une ancienne rançune, qu'ils ont l'un contre l'autre depuis Holande. Je les ay pourtant un peu preſſé de demeurer à leur devoir, et que ce qu'on ne leur ſouffriroit pas en France, ou ils ont ſervy, je ne leur ſouffrirois pas auſſi icy. Cambon m'ayant dit, qu'il ne vouloit par ſervir d'ingenieur, je lui ay repondu, qu'on ſe pourroit paſſer de luy, auſſy bien que d'être colonel d'un regiment Francois; et s'il ne ſe tenoit point en ſon devoir, j'en avertirois V. Mté.

Carrickfergus,

Carickfergus, 26 Aug. 1689.

I CANNOT paſs over in ſilence that Meſſrs. Goulon and Cambon have given me a great deal of pain. The firſt is a little brutal, and the laſt is a mathematical chicaner; beſides, there has been an ancient grudge between them ſince they were in Holland. I have however preſſed them a little to keep within their duty; telling them that I would not ſuffer them to do there, what they would not be ſuffered to do in France, where they have ſerved. Cambon having told me, that he did not like to ſerve as an engineer, I anſwered, that we could do without him in that ſtation, as well as in that of his being colonel of a French regiment; and that if he did not do his duty, I ſhould inform Your Majeſty of it.

Part of Duke Schomberg's letter to King William—The burthen of every thing lies on him.

Caricfergus, du 27 Aouſt, 1689.

JE croy qu'il faudra laiſſer icy Sir Henry Ingleſby avec ſon regiment, qui n'eſt pas des meilleurs. J'avois eu quelque deſſein de le faire brigadier; mais j'ai trouvé qu'il y a trop long tems qu'il eſt hors d'action. J'ay fait ſervir dans ce ſiege Mr. de la Meloniere comme brigadier: nous aurions beſoin encore de quelques autres; mais je n'en voy point dans cett armée icy. On m'a dit que dans les regiments qui ſont avec Kirck, le colonel Stwart pouroit y etre propre. Vôtre Mté. me mandera ſur tous les deux ſa volonté; car juſques icy, il a falu avoir tout le ſoin des vivres, des vaiſſeaux, de l'artillerie, de la cavallerie, de tous les payements, et de tout le detail de l'attaque de la place. Si on venoit plus pres d'un ennemy, on auroit peine de fournir à tout cela; les officiers d'artillerie ſont ignorans, pareſſeux, et craintifs. Je decouvre que dans cett artillerie il y a beaucoup de tromperie: les bombes mal chargés, les canons d'une mechante fonte, les armes mal faites, et bien d'autres choſes, qui ſont trop longues

longues à dire à V. Mte. à quoi je croy que Sieur Henry Sheil a beaucoup contribué ; car juſques aux mineurs, on ne les a pas pû attacher à la muraille ; un officier et quatre ſoldats Francois l'ont entrepris, et en ſont venus à bout, dont trois ont été bleſſés par nos gens.

J'ay fait faire la charge de quartier maître general à Sieur de Cambon ; nous n'en avons pas de meilleur icy pour cela.

Juſques icy les cheveaux et le bagage de nos officiers n'eſt point arrivé ; cela nous ambarraſſera un peu pour avancer au de la de Belfaſt.

Tranſlation.

Carickfergus, 27 Aug. 1689.

I BELIEVE I muſt leave Sir Henry Ingleſby, who is none of the beſt here, with his regiment. I had ſome thoughts of making him a brigadier ; but I found that it is too long ſince he was in action. I made Monſieur de la Meloniere ſerve as brigadier in this ſiege. We have need of ſtill more, but I ſee none in this army. I have been told, that in the regiments which are with Kirk, colonel Stewart may be a proper man : for hitherto I have been obliged to take upon me all the burden of the proviſions, the veſſels, the artillery, the cavalry, all the payments, and all the detail of the attack of the place. If we came nearer the enemy, we ſhould have difficulty to furniſh officers for all theſe duties. The officers of artillery are ignorant, lazy, and timorous. I diſcover that in the artillery there has been a great deal of roguery : the bombs ill charged, the cannon ill caſt, the arms ill made, and many other things too long to tell Your Majeſty ; to which, I believe Mr. Henry Shales has contributed much ; for even the miners could not be got to fix themſelves to the walls : an officer and four French ſoldiers did it, and ſucceeded : three of them were wounded by our own people.

I have

I have given the charge of quarter maſter general to Mr. Cambon. We have no better here to employ.

The horſes and the officers baggage are not as yet arrived, which will embarraſs us in going beyond Belfaſt.

SCHOMBERG.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.——Poſition of the armies.——Complaints of the new army.

A Dundalk, le 20 Sept. 1689.

VOTRE Majeſté recevra par Mr. de Sgravemour deux de mes memoires, et s'il court la poſte, elle ſera encore mieux informée par luy. Depuis quatre jours qu'il eſt party, il ne s'eſt rien paſſée de conſiderable. On a fouragé à la veüe de la garde des ennemys, cela n'eſt pas fort difficile à faire, puiſque ce eſt un pays traverſé de petit marets, les chemins et les champs renfermes par des pierres et de la terre. Je ne ſcay ſi cela eſt la cauſe que les ennemys n'ont pas avancé depuis quatre jours: je croy qu'il eſt difficile d'en venir à une bataille en ce pays icy, quoy qu'ils ayent une armée à ce qu'on peut voir fort etendüe.

Je ne voys pas que de nôtre côté nous devions auſſi rien hazarder Nous avons une petite riviere devant nous, et eux une. Etant aller ce matin trouver le comte de Schonberg, qui etoit aſſes proche des vedettes des ennemys, nous avons veu avancer un gros de cavallerie, qui ne marchoient point en eſcadron, qui nous a paru être le Roy Jaques, ou divers officiers generaux. Ils ont dela pû voir notre camp; mais je croi que ce qui leur aura le plus depleu eſt, qu'ils ont veu arriver onze vaiſſeaux à la rade de Dundalk, par ou ils auront pû juger qu'ils auront peine à nous affamir icy, comme ils l'eſperoient. Il eſt difficile de juger ce qu'ils entreprendront, apres avoir campé cinque jours à deux mille de cett armée, avec un ſi grand nombre du monde qu'ils ont ramaſſé de tous côtés, et fait courir le bruit qu'ils venoient nous attaquer. Il y en a qui croyent à preſent

que

que c'eſt pour detruire et manger tous les fourages entre cette place et Drogheda, pour nous empecher d'en pouvoir en ſuitte approcher avec notre armée. Cela ne laiſſera pas de nous embaraſſer, et il ſembleroit par la, que s'ils demeuroient deriere Drogheda, où ils trouveront de fourage et des vivres, ils nous tiendront arreſtés, ſans beaucoup pouvoir avancer; et d'autant plus que Mr. Shals ne nous a pas encore envoyé les chevaux, ni les chariots pour porter nos vivres. Il nous manque meme une partie des chevaux de l'artillerye et des equipages d'officiers, comme auſſi des officiers Francois de cavallerie, qui attend il y a long têms pour paſſer. Cependant la ſaiſon s'avance pour camper ſous des tentes, et cela deviendra dans un mois aſſez dificile.

Deux cavalliers des ennemys, qui viennent de ſe rendre, diſent, qu'ils ont rencontré cinq de nos ſoldats, qui alloient aux ennemys. Par les habillements, je juge c'eſt de Mylord Mée. On dit que les ennemys ſont aſſurée de deux de nos regiments, et que ſi nous en approchons, il s'iront rendre. S'ils pretendent nous affamir ce ne ſera pas à l'egard des hommes, nos vaiſſeaux etant arrivés dans cette baye; mais ce ſera nos chevaux, pour leſquel on ſe trouvera indubitablement dans un grand embaras. Ce matin un party des ennemys eſt venu aſſes preſt de la garde; un detachement de vint-cinque dragons les ont repouſſé, et leur ont tué un homme et un cheval. Ils ſont fort au guet pour voir ſi nous fourageons de leur coté. Le regiment de dragons de Luçon eſt celui qui ſert le mieux icy. Les troupes d'Iniſkilling, qui ſont en partie arrivées, paroiſſent de bonne volonté; et je croy qu'il y aura plus de fond à faire ſur elles que ſur les regiments ces Mylords Irlandois. Herbort eſt auſſi arrivé, nous allons travailler avec luy pour etablir un paye pour ces troupes d'Iniſkilling. Il vaudroit mieux caſſer quelques regiments de ces nouvelles leves d'Angleterre, dont je viens de parler, et conſerver tous les Iniſkillings. J'eſpere que leurs habits viendront bientot, ils paroitront beaucoup mieux. Ils me paroiſſent tous fort adroits à tirer, s'ils avoient

des

des fusils. Ce que nous manquons le plus dans cette armée sont des souliers et des fers de chevaux. Je souhaitrois que les troupes de Dannemark et celles que Votre Majesté a ordonné qu'ils vinssent d'Ecosse fussent arrivées. Avec cela nous nous aprocherions fort prés d'eux. Il ny a pas un officier de tout la cavallerie capable d'etre employé comme brigadier ; cependant le Comt de Schonberg auroit besoin d'en avoir un de quelque conduite, pour en être soulagé. Si Sir Jean Lanyer vient, il poura en etre aydé dans l'infanterie. On a eté obligée pour tenir quelque ordre d'en etablir quatre, scavoir, Sir Henry Belys, la Melonniere, Stuard, et Sir Jean Eshuard.

Il faut aussi faire souvenir Votre Majesté d'un article que j'ay mis dans mon memoire, de Robert Broadnax, major du regiment de Mylord de la Mer ; ce regiment deperit entierement ; et le major n'est pas digne de le commandir, comme le Sieur de Sgravemour le poura dire à V. Mté. qui l'a connu en Hollande. J'ay crû qu'il etoit bon d'envoyer à V. Mté. un petit papier, où elle verra les officiers que Mylord de la Mer luy a mandé de remplacer au lieu de ceux qui manquent. Je tacherai de voir si demain je puis persuader le dit Broadnax de s'en aller trouver le sieur Blathuet, pour faire luy meme ses propositions ; et je croy qu'il sera bon qu'il ne returne plus. Il y a bien encore d'autres officiers que je voudrois qu'ils fussent en Angleterre. Je n'en ay jamais veu de plus mechants et de plus intereſſes : tout le soin des colonels n'est que de vivre de leurs regiments, sans aucun autre application.

Translation.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.

Dundalk, 20th Sept. 1689.

YOUR Majesty will receive by Monsieur Sgravemour two of my memorials, and if he takes post, you will get still better information from him. Since he went

went from this, which is four days ago, nothing conſiderable has paſſed. We have foraged in the view of the enemies guard, which is not difficult, becauſe the country is cut with little bogs, and the roads and fields incloſed with ſtones. I don't know if this is the reaſon why the enemy have not advanced theſe four days. I believe it is difficult to come to a battle in this country, although, according to what we ſee, they have a very extended army.

I do not ſee why we ſhould riſk any thing on our ſide. We have one little river before us, and they another. Having gone this morning to find Count Schomberg, who was pretty near the vedettes of the enemy, we ſaw a body of cavalry advance, which did not march in ſquadron, and which appeared to us to be King James, or ſeveral general officers. From thence they could ſee our camp; but I believe the ſight which has diſpleaſed them the moſt, was the arrival of eleven veſſels in the road of Dundalk, from whence they might judge that they could ſcarce ſtarve us here, as they hoped to have done. It is difficult to judge what they will attempt, after having been encamped five days, within two miles of our army, with ſo great a number of men, whom they have gathered from all parts, and ſpread a report that they came to attack us. Some believe that the intention of this is to deſtroy and eat all the forage between this place and Drogheda, in order to prevent us from approaching it afterwards with our army. This would embarraſs us; and it would appear by that, that if they ſhould fix themſelves behind Drogheda, where they will find forage and proviſions, they could ſtop us from advancing much farther, and the rather, becauſe Mr. Shales has not as yet ſent us horſes nor carts for carrying proviſions. We even want a part of the horſes for the artillery and the baggage of the officers, and alſo the horſes of the officers of the French cavalry, which have been waiting a long time for a paſſage. In the meantime, the ſeaſon advances

for

for encamping under tents, and that will be difficult enough in a month.

Two troopers of the enemy, who have ſurrendered, ſay, that they met five of our ſoldiers going to the enemy; by the dreſs I judge they are my lord Meath's men. They ſay that the enemy are ſure of two of our regiments, and that if we approach they will ſurrender. If they pretend to ſtarve us, it will not be on account of the men, our veſſels being arrived this day; but of the horſes, for whoſe maintainance we are under great embarraſsment. This morning a party of the enemy came pretty near the guard; a detachment of 25 dragoons drove them back, and killed a man and a horſe. They patrole much to ſee if we forage upon their ſide. The regiment of Lucon's dragoons ſerves beſt of any here. The Iniſkilling troops appear to have good will to the ſervice, and I believe one may depend more upon them than on the regiment of the Iriſh lords. Harbord is arrived; I am going to work with him to eſtabliſh a pay for the Iniſkilling troops. It would be better to break ſome of theſe regiments newly raiſed in England, of which I am ſpeaking, and to keep all the Iniſkiliners. I hope their clothes will come ſoon; they will then appear much better. They appear to me to fire well if they had fuſees, of which there is a want: what we want moſt in this army are ſhoes for the men and horſes. I wiſh that the Daniſh troops and thoſe which Your Majeſty has ordered from Scotland were arrived; with theſe we could approach very near the enemy. There is not an officer of all the cavalry capable of being employed as a brigadier; yet count Schomberg will have need of one of ſome conduct to relieve himſelf. If ſir John Lanyer comes, he will get his aſſiſtance. In the infantry, we have been obliged, in order to preſerve ſome order, to eſtabliſh four, viz. ſir Henry Bellaſis, la Melonnier, Stewart, and ſir John Stewart.

I muſt alſo remind Your Majeſty of an article in my memorial, relating to Robert Broadnax, major of lord de la Mer's regiment. This regiment is entirely waſted away,

away, and the major is unworthy of commanding it, as Monſieur Sgravemour, who knew him in Holland, can tell Your Majeſty. I thought it right to ſend Your Majeſty a ſmall paper, where you will ſee the officers whom lord de la Mer has ordered to ſucceed upon vacancies. I ſhall endeavour to-morrow to perſuade Broadnax to go to Mr. Blaithwait and make his propoſals; and I believe it will be right that he ſhould not return. There are many other officers whom I could wiſh in England. I never ſaw more wicked and more intereſted. All the care of the colonels is to live by their regiments, without applying to any other thing.

SCHOMBERG.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.——Treachery in troops.

21 Septembre.

CE matin quelques eſcadrons des ennemys ont paru proche de ce camp, un marais entre deux, et enſuitte trois ou quatre regiments d'infanterie, dont nous avons veüe les drapeaux, et par leur cris nous avons jugé que le Roy Jaques paſſoit devant leur battaillons. Ces troupes la ont demeuré à notre veüe ſur un coteau juſques à deux heurs apres midy, qu'elles ont commencé à ſe retirer. Je croy que dans tous ces mouvements la, il y a quelques deſſeins pour tacher d'attirer quelques deſerteurs de notre armée, ayant fait jetter meme quantité de billets imprimés, Anglois et François. Cela m'a obligé d'examiner de plus prés les regts. d'infantrie François, et y ay trouvez que la plupart des recrües qu'on a fait des deſerteurs du coté de Bruxelles et Frankfort étoient des papiſtes, et que parmy eux il s'en eſt trouvez un qui a été capitaine de cavallerie en France, le quel avoit ecrit une lettre à Roy Jaques et une à Mr. d'Avaux, qu'on a trouvé entre les mains d'un tambour, qui les devoit porter. Leur proces ſera fait demain. Apres avoir decouvert cela, et qu'il y avoit dans ces regimts. quantité de papiſtes qui avoient caché

leur religion, j'en ay fait arreſter la nuiſt paſſée plus de cent vingt, que j'ay fait conduire a Carlingfort, pour les mettre dans les vaiſſeaux de guerre, qui doivent returner à Heyleck, et ay ecrit au gouverneur de Cheſter de les garder ſurement, juſque à ce que Votre Majeſté en diſpoſe; ils meriteroient qu'on les envoyaſt aux Indes, comme ils ont envoyé les proteſtants en Amerique. Non obſtant ce retranchement et cette examination, les bataillons ne laiſſent pas encore d'etre plus forts que ceux des Anglois.

Tranſlation.

21ſt September.

THIS morning ſome ſquadrons of the enemy appeared near this camp, a bog being betwixt us, and then three or four regiments of the infantry, whoſe colours we ſaw, and judged by their cries that King James was paſſing before their battalions. Theſe troops remained in our view upon a coteau till two hours after mid-day, when they began to retire. I believe that all theſe movements are intended to draw ſome deſerters from our army; they having ſpread about a quantity of Engliſh and French printed billets. This has obliged me to examine more narrowly the regiments of French infantry, and I find that the greater part of the recruits, which were drawn from deſerters about Bruſſels and Francfort, were papiſts; and amongſt them there was found one who had been a captain of cavalry in France. This man had written a letter to King James, and another to Monſieur d'Avaux, which were found in the hands of a drummer, who was to deliver them. They will be tried to-morrow. Upon diſcovering this, and that there were in theſe regiments many papiſts, who had concealed their religion, I cauſed to be arreſted above an hundred and twenty of them laſt night, whom I ordered to be conducted to Carlingford to be put on board the ſhips of war which are returning to Heyleck; and have written to the governor of Cheſter to guard them ſtrictly,

ſtrictly, till your Majeſty ſhall diſpoſe of them. They deſerve to be ſent to the Weſt Indies as they ſent the proteſtants to America. Notwithſtanding this loſs and this examination, the battalions are ſtill ſtronger than thoſe of the Engliſh.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.——State of the two armies.

Le 27 Septembre.

MR. Shals etant enfin arrivé à Carlingfort, Mr. Herbort et moi avons été d'avis d'attendre que nous le viſſions parler pour ſcavoir ce qu'il a amené. L'on a été avant hyer au fourage ſans que les ennemys ayent parû; mais hyer ils ſont venus avec leur cavallerie et quelque infantrie bruſler le fourage qui reſtoit entre eux et nous, ſur leur droit tirant vers la mer. J'ay evité de faire ce fourage, aprehendant que toute leur cavallerie ne me tombaſt ſur les bras, pendant que tous nos fourageurs ſeroient epars dans la campagne. Ils l'ont meme bruſlé juſque aſſez proche de leur camp, et deux ou trois petits villages entre eux et nous, par ce qu'on peut apprendre de deux rendus. Ils ont auſſi leur manquements. Le pain ne ſe peut pas donner regulierement dans leur armée à tant de peuple ramaſſé, qui a crû qu'on en viendroit d'abord icy à une bataille. On ne peut pas bien conter ſur tout cela, puiſque d'un autre coté, ces peuple ramaſſé vivent encore de quelque betail, et bruſlent la paille ou eſt le grain, le quel par la ſe dourcit et en font de la farine, et enſuite des gallettes à la mode du pays. Nos manquements juſque icy ſont en habits et en ſouliers, ce que je croy contribue autant à la maladie des ſoldats, que la bierre nouvelle a quoy contribue grandement le peu de ſoin de leurs colonels, quoique je leurs en parle ſouvent. Cela m'a fait juger a propos de faire une reveûe à toute l'armée, à fin que Mr. Herbort puiſſe payer la deſſus. J'en envoyeray l'etat à votre Majeſté.

Ce que je puis juger de l'etat de l'ennemie, eſt que le Roi Jacques ayant ramaſſé en ce royaume tout ce qu'il a pû, vaudroit bien en venir àune bataille avant que ſes troupes ſe puſſent diſſiper parla mauvais ſaiſon dans laquelle nous allons entrer. Pour cela il me ſemble que nous devons tenir bride en main icy, ſi Votre Majeſté l'approuve ainſy, puiſque il nous doit encore arriver des troupes d'Ecoſſe et ceux de Dannemark meme ; et le meme raiſon qui empeche les ennemys de pouvoir m'obliger à une bataille, puiſqu'il faut qu'ils viennent à moi, par deux ou trois grands chemins ſeulement, le reſte etant entrecoupé de marais, m'empeche auſſy d'aller a eux, ayant une petite riviere et quelques montagnes devant eux. Si neanmoins ils l'opiniatrent de demeurer en ce poſte, le fourage pour la cavallerie pourra nous manquer ; en ce cas je ſeray obligé d'en envoyer la plus grande part à vingt milles d'icy, du coſté de Charlemont, que je pourray faire aſſieger en meme temps, pour n'avoir rien deriere nous qui nous incommode, et en me retranchant un peu mieux que je ne le ſuis encore, je pourray bien demeurer en ce camp icy, ſans que les ennemys m'y puiſſent forçer.

L'armee du Roy Jacques s'etant veneüe preſenter diverſes fois aſſez proche de ce camp, ſemble avoir eu quelque eſperance que quelques troupes pouroient plus facilement s'aller rendre à luy, j'ay eu quelque ſoupçon du regt. de Mylord Mée, parcequ'ils s'etoient allés rendre quelques ſoldats les nuits auparavant. Pour m'oter cette inquietude, le Colonel Wſley m'a propoſé d'envoyer ce regimt. à Iniſkilling, et de faire venir un regiment de la en ſa place.

Tranſlation.

27th September.

MR. Shales having at laſt arrived at Carlingford, Mr. Harbord and I thought it beſt to wait till we ſaw him, to know what he had brought. The day before

before yeſterday we foraged without the enemy appearing; but yeſterday they came with their cavalry to burn the forage that was left between them and us, drawing towards the ſea upon their right. I avoided foraging, leſt all their cavalry might fall upon us whilſt the foragers were ſcattered in the country. They have burnt even pretty near their camp, and two or three little villages, as we have learnt from two who ſurrendered. They alſo have their wants. They are not able to give bread regularly in their army to ſo many people gathered together, who thought that immediately there would have been a battle. However we cannot count upon all this, ſince on the other hand this collection of people have ſtill ſome cattle to live upon, and burn the ſtraw in which the grain is, by which it becomes hard, and corn is made of it, and then they make it into a bread, according to the cuſtom of the country. Our wants hitherto are in clothes and ſhoes, which I believe contributes as much to the maladies among the ſoldiers, as the new beer, of which there is indeed but little, owing greatly to the little care which their colonels take, although I often ſpeak to them of it. This makes me think it right to make a review of all the army, in order that Mr. Harbord may pay on that footing. I will ſend the ſtate to Your Majeſty.

So far as I can judge from the ſtate of the enemy, and King James's having collected here all the force that he could in this kingdom, he wants to come to a battle before the troops ſeparate, on account of the bad ſeaſon, which will ſoon begin; for this reaſon it appears to me, that we ſhould lie here upon the defenſive, if your Majeſty approves of it, ſince there are troops to arrive from Scotland and Denmark; and the ſame reaſon which hinders the enemy from forcing me to a battle, ſince they can only come to me by two or three great roads, the reſt being cut with bogs, hinders me from going to them, who have beſides a little river, and ſome mountains before them: however, if they

perfiſt in continuing in this poſt, forage for cavalry may fail us; in that caſe I ſhall be obliged to ſend the greateſt part twenty miles from this, towards Charlemont, which I may cauſe to be beſieged at the ſame time, in order to have nothing behind that can incommode us; and in entrenching myſelf a little better than I am, I can continue in this camp, without the enemy being able to force me.

King James's army having preſented itſelf ſeveral times near this camp, appears to have had ſome hopes of facilitating the deſertion of ſome troops. I had ſome ſuſpicion of my lord Meath's regiment, becauſe they had permitted ſome ſoldiers to deſert ſome nights before. To remove this uneaſineſs, colonel Wooſley has propoſed to me to ſend this regiment to Iniſkilling, and to bring another from thence in its place.

Part of a letter from Duke Schomberg to King William.— Reaſons for his not fighting.

A Dundalk, le 3me Octobre, 1689.

JE ſuis de l'opinion de V. M. que l'armée ennemye ne nous attaquera pas icy; mais il ne ſera pas moins dificile, que nous la puiſſions attaquer dans le poſte où elle eſt. Elle eſt campée endeça d'Atherdee a une lieuë de nous, une petite riviere devant elle. A trois où quatre gues, qu'il y a, ils ont fait des retranchements; et je ne doute pas, comme V. M. le dit dans ſa lettre, que leur deſſein eſt de couvrir Dublin, et que le manque de fourage nous obligera de reculer. Quand je n'auray que l'infantrie ſeule avec moy, ils ne pouront pas me faire ſortir d'icy; mais je ſeray obligé, dans peu de jours, d'envoyer la plus part de la cavallerie, qui n'eſt pas en grand nombre, dans le comté de Downe, d'où, en deux petites journées, on la peut toûjours avoir icy; et comme il y a un guê au deſſus de Carlingford, on peut même l'avoir en moins de tems. Les chevaux, par le couvert qu'ils y trouveront, ſe conſerveront un peu mieux qu'icy: les officiers en prenant, outre

outre celà, peu de ſoin, laiſſant toujours aller leurs cavaliers à toute bride, et ne ſcavent pas fourager, ny faire des trouſſes, ce qui a été cauſe que nous n'avons jamais pû faire de proviſions plus que pour deux jours.

Pour ce qui eſt de pouvoir marcher aux ennemys, juſques icy cela ne s'eſt pas pû faire, n'ayant pas eu un ſeul chariot pour porter des vivres : et quant au chemin qu'il faudra tenir, touſtes gens du pays pouront dire à V. M. qu'on eſt toujours obligé de defiler par un grand chemin, des maréts à droit et à gauche : il ne s'eſt jamais veu un tel pays : et pourpouvoir aller juſques à Nauan, que V. M. verra ſur la carte, il faut faire un fort grand tour, et les ennemys, en deux petites journees de marche, y arriveront deux jours devant nous. Par la gauche on ne peut point marcher que le long de la mer; mais les ennemys n'auront qu'a deſcendre le long de leur riviere, pour nous en empecher le paſſage.

Il y a dans cett armeé environ mille malades, compris quelques bleſſés, qu'on a laiſſé à Belfaſt : ils commencent à en revenir, et il en meurt peu.

J'ay peine à croire que les ennemys n'ayent auſſy des malades, et qu'il ne leur coute plus de peine à porter leur vivres de Dublin, que nous de les tirer des vaiſſeaux, qui ſont icy proche, et à conſerver ſes troupes avec la monoie de cuivre, pendant que celle de V. Mté. eſt bien payée. Votre Mté. mande qu'elle envoye quelques troupes d'Ecoſſe ; pendant que celles la arriveront, peutêtre celles de Dannemarck viendront-elles. Par la on hazarderoit moins en leur donnant une bataille, et la guerre s'en finiroit plus ſurement. Ce n'eſt peutêtre pas l'opinion du conſeil des commites d'Irlande, ny de quelques perſonnes de Londre, qui croyent qu'il ny a que donner battaille pour la gagner.

Monſieur Herbort s'eſt chargé d'envoyer à V. Mté la revüe que j'ay fait faire depuis deux jours de l'armée de V. Mté. Elle y paroitra plus nombreuſe quelle n'eſt, les colonels etants fort habiles en matiere de montres.

Quoyque les troupes d'Iniſkilling ne paroiſſent pas, a cauſe de leures habits ; elles ſont neanmoins aſſés vigoureuſes : elles ont deffait quelques troupes des ennemys du côté de Boyle et Jameſtoun. Ce ſera auſſi Mr. Herbort, qui rendra compte à Votre Majeſté du traité que nous avons fait avec eux ; mais il me ſemble qu'ils ne s'en contentent pas, pretendans ne pouvoir ſervir à ce petit prix, ainſy que V. Mté verra par un ecrit qu'ils m'ont donné en preſence du ſieur Herbort, le quel s'eſt chargé de luy envoyer. J'ay donné le regimt. de Norfolk à Mr. Bellaſis, ainſi que V. M. me l'a ordonnée. Le lieutenant-colonel, qui eſt un jeune homme, de ce nom, ſe plaint fort : je l'ay exhorté de ne pas quitter, et que V. M. feroit quelques choſe pour luy dans les premieres occaſions.

Je dis hyer à My lord Methe, que j'avois eu ordre exprês de V. M. de donner les regiments à ceux, que je croirois les mieux apliqués au ſervice, quand je verrois que leurs colonels les negligent.

Tranſlation.

Dundalk, 3d October, 1689.

I AM of your Majeſty's opinion, that the enemy's army will not attack us here ; but it will not be leſs difficult for us to attack them in the poſt they are in. They are encamped on this ſide Atherdee, at a league diſtance from us, with a little river on their front. At three or four fords which the river has, they have caſt up entrenchments ; and I do not doubt, as your Majeſty ſays in your letter, that their deſign is to cover Dublin, and that the want of forage will oblige us to fall back. If I had nothing but infantry with me, they could not force me from hence ; but in a few days I ſhall be obliged to ſend the greateſt part of my cavalry, which is not numerous, into the county of Down ; from whence, in two days, I can always bring them here ; and as there is a ford above Carlingford, I can have them even in leſs time. The horſes, by the cover which

which they will find there, will be better preſerved than here: beſides, the officers take little care of them here, allowing their troopers to go at full gallop; and knowing nothing of the way of foraging or of making truſſes. This has been the occaſion of our never having had proviſions for above two days.

With regard to our marching to the enemy, that could not be done hitherto, as we had not a ſingle cart to carry proviſions; and as for the roads, all the people of the country can tell Your Majeſty, that we ſhould be obliged to defile through a great road, with bogs to right and left: ſuch a country was never ſeen. And as for going to Navan, which Your Majeſty will ſee in the map, we ſhould be obliged to make a great tour; and the enemy, in two ſhort days march, would be there before us. By the left we can march only along the ſea; but the enemy would have nothing to do but to come down along the river to ſtop our paſſage.

There are in this army about a thouſand ſick, comprehending ſome wounded men, left at Belfaſt: theſe begin to come back from thence, and few of them die.

I have difficulty to believe that the enemy have not ſick alſo, and that it does not give them more trouble to carry their proviſions from Dublin, than for us to receive them from our veſſels, which are at hand, and to keep their troops together with copper money, while Your Majeſty's are well paid. Your Majeſty intimates that you are ſending ſome troops from Scotland: whilſt theſe are on their way, perhaps thoſe from Denmark may come too. In that caſe there would be leſs hazard in giving battle, and the war would be finiſhed with leſs riſk. This perhaps is not the opinion of the committee for Iriſh affairs, nor of ſome perſons in London, who believe that one has only to give battle to win it.

Mr. Harbord has engaged to ſend Your Majeſty a review of the army which I made two days ago: by that it will appear more numerous than it is, the colonels being very able at making up muſters.

Although

Although the Iniſkilling troops do not appear, on account of their clothes, they have however a good deal of vigor. They have defeated ſome troops of the enemy, on the ſide of Boyle and Jameſtown. Mr. Harbord will alſo give Your Majeſty an account of the agreement we made with them; but it appears to me, that they are not contented with it, pretending they are not able to ſerve upon ſo ſmall pay, as Your Majeſty will ſee by a writing which they gave me in preſence of Mr. Harbord, who engaged to ſend it to you. I gave the regiment of Norfolk to Mr. Bellaſis, as Your Majeſty ordered me. The lieutenant-colonel, who is a young man of the ſame name, complains much. I exhorted him not to quit the ſervice, for that Your Majeſty would do ſomething for him on the firſt occaſion.

Yeſterday I told my lord Meath, that I had an expreſs order from Your Majeſty, to give the regiments to thoſe who I believed gave the moſt application to the ſervice, when I ſaw that their colonels neglected them.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Reaſons for not advancing.

A Dundalk, le 6me Octobre, 1689.

VOTRE Majeſté poura voir par le mémoire que j'ay écrit de ma main du quatre, que ces raiſons là m'ont fait penſer à marcher vers la riviere du Shanon; ce ſera peutêtre encore le meilleur de ce qu'on poura faire, aumoins que d'aller chercher les ennemys, et leur donner une battaille; car il me paroiſt que V. Mté. eſt du ſentiment que l'on les pouſſe, avant que cett' armée déperiſſe par les maladies, ou que les ſecours qu'ils pouroient eſperer de France vienne. J'aurois fort envie de faire les choſes, pour les quelles V. Mté. montre plus de penchant, et j'aurois marché des demain; mais comme V. Mté. aura veu, par les avis de officiers generaux, que toute l'armée eſt ſans ſouliers, et qu'on ne feroit pas deux journées de marche que la moitie

demeurroit

demeurroit pied nud ; il faut attendre qu'il nous en vienne d'Angleterre, où Mr. Herbort a envoyé : cela nous fait perdre l'occaſion de marcher en même tems, ſur la droite, vers la riviere de Shanon, pendant que les ennemys l'eloignent de nous. Je laiſſe à part les autres difficultés, qu'il faudra tâcher de ſurmonter le mieux qu'on poura. J'en ay fait mention dans mon memoire, qui ſont, que les chariots de vivres ne ſont pas tous arrivés, les chevaux de ceux qui le ſont, ſont même en fort mechant état. Shals dit qu'il a été obligé de s'en ſervir touſtes jours à Cheſter, n'en ayant pas pû trouver à loüer. J'a deja dit qu'il n'avoit pas auſſi pris ſoin de faire ambarquer ſix vingt chevaux de l'artillerie, qui reſtent encore là.

Tranſlation.

Dundalk, 6th October, 1689.

YOUR Majeſty will ſee by the memorial of my hand-writing of the 4th, reaſons which made me think of marching to the river of Shannon. It will perhaps be the beſt thing that can be done except ſeeking the enemy and giving them battle. For it appears to me that Your Majeſty is of opinion that we ſhould puſh them before this army periſhes by diſeaſes, or the ſuccours arrive which the enemy expect from France. I ſhould deſire much to do the things which Your Majeſty is ſo eager for, and I would have marched tomorrow ; but as Your Majeſty will ſee by the opinion of the general officers, that all the army is without ſhoes, and that it could not march two days without half of them being barefooted, it is neceſſary to wait till ſhoes come from England where Mr. Harbord has ſent for them. This has made us loſe the occaſion of marching upon the right towards the river of Shannon, while the enemy are removing from us. I ſpeak not of the other difficulties which it will be neceſſary to ſurmount the beſt that we can. I mentioned them in my memorial. They are, That the proviſion waggons

are

are not all arrived, the horſes of thoſe which are, are in a very bad ſtate. Shales ſays, that he was obliged to make uſe of them at Cheſter, becauſe he could not find any to hire. I have already ſaid that he did not even take care to embark one hundred and twenty artillery horſes which are ſtill left there.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.——Cannot comply with the King's deſire that he ſhould fight.

A Dundalk, le 8me Octo. 1689.

QUAND je relis les deux dernieres lettres de V. Mté. des 2 et 6. Octobre, je trouve qu'elle auroit envie qu'on pouſſat les ennemys. Je lui ay déja mandé que cela etoit difficile à faire, en un pays où on ne peut aller à eux que par deux ou trois grands chemins, le reſte étant partagé par des marais et des montagnes; mais il y a encore d'autres circonſtances à repreſenter à Votre Majeſté qui ſont que j'ay peine à commettre ſon armée contre une autre, qui eſt, comme toute le monde ſcait, en ce pays icy au moins double en nombre de la notre, d'ont une partie eſt diſciplinée et aſſes bien armée, et juſques icy mieu nourrie que la notre en pain, viande, et biere; mais ce qu'il y a de plus facheux eſt que les colonels qui ont nouvellement levé des regiments, et particulierement les Mylords Irlandois, n'ont regardé que avoir des garçons à bon marché. C'eſt ce que j'ay bien preveu, lorſque on leu donna leur commiſſions: et j'en parlai dans le conſeil des comitées d'Irlande à Votre Majeſté, mais l'avis de Mr. Halifax fut plutot ſuivy que le mien. Je ne parle point de ſouliers, en ayant deja fait mention en tous mes memoires. Mais ſi l'incapacité de ces officiers eſt grande, leur inaplication et leur pareſſe l'eſt encore d'avantage: Quoyque la cavallerie ne ſoit pas ſi nouvellement levée, les officiers ne prenent néanmoins point ſoin des chevaux de leurs cavaliers, et tous ſont ſi acoutemé à loger dans les cabarets, partout où ils marchent, que cette maniere de guerre les éttonne. Je ſuis faché d'importuner

V. M.

V. M. de tous ces détails ; mais je croy que c'eſt mon devoir de l'en informer, afin qu'elle voye par là les raiſons, pourquoy j'ay peine de me reſoudre a decider de tout par une bataile.

J'eſpere qu'a tout heure ce qui nous reſte de chevaux d'artillerie, et de vivres, et les troupes Ecoſſoiſes arriveront, et que les ſouliers qui ſont achetés il y a plus de deux mois, ſe retrouveront. Sans faire valoir mes ſervices, n'y mettre en conte les chagrins que j'ay eu, ce n'a pas été ſans peine que je ſuis venu icy, et d'y avoir pu demeurer preſque ſans pain. Il auroit été bien dificile d'aller en avant ſans aucun chariots de vivres. Et comme il y avoit un ruiſſeau entre les enemys et nous, j'aurois peutêtre été obligé de faire un pas en arriere, qui auroit eu de mechantes ſuites.

A ce que l'on peut juger, les ennemys tachent de conſommer et bruſler tout le fourage qui eſt autour d'eux, et qu'ils continueront de faire de meme juſque aupres de Drogheda.

Tranſlation.

Dundalk, 8th October, 1689.

WHEN I read over again Your Majeſty's two laſt letters of the 2d and 6th October, I find you have a deſire that the enemy ſhould be puſh'd. I have already wrote that that was difficult to do in a country where one cannot go to them but by two or three great roads, the reſt being divided by bogs and mountains. But there are ſtill other circumſtances to be repreſented to Your Majeſty; that I am uneaſy to venture your army againſt one which is, as all the world here knows, at leaſt double the number of ours, of which a part is diſciplined, and pretty well armed, and hitherto better nouriſhed with bread, meat, and beer than ours. But what is ſtill more uneaſy is, that the colonels who have lately raiſed their regiments, and particularly the Iriſh lords, thought of nothing but to have boys at a cheap rate. I foreſaw this when their commiſſions

miſſions were given them, and I ſpoke of it to Your Majeſty at the meeting of the committee for Iriſh affairs; but Lord Hallifax's advice was rather followed than mine. I do not ſpeak of ſhoes, having mentioned them in all my memorials. But if the want of capacity of the officers is great, their want of application, and their lazineſs, is ſtill greater. Although the cavalry are not ſo lately raiſed, the officers, however, take no care of the horſes of their troopers, and are all ſo accuſtomed to lodge in inns wherever they march, that the preſent kind of war aſtoniſhes them. I am vexed to importune Your Majeſty with all theſe details, but I think it is my duty to inform you of them, that you may ſee the reaſons why I am unwilling to reſolve to decide all by a battle.

I hope every minute, that the reſt of our artillery horſes and proviſions and the Scotch troops will arrive, and that the ſhoes which were bought above two months ago will be found again. Without enhancing my ſervices, or bringing into the account the chagrins which I have ſuffered, it is not without difficulty that I have come thus far, and continued here almoſt without bread. It would have been very difficult to advance without any waggons or proviſions: and as there was a rivulet between the enemy and us, I might perhaps have been obliged to fall back, which would have had bad conſequences.

As far as one can judge, the enemy endeavour to conſume and burn all the forage around them, and will continue to do the ſame as far as Drogheda.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—To the ſame purpoſe.—Preſſes for a diverſion by the fleet upon the coaſt.

12 Octob.

JE voye par la lettre de Votre Majeſté qu'elle eſt informée que nous avons beaucoup plus de malades dans cette armée qu'il ny en a, et pour ne pas attendre qu'il y en ayt d'avantage, il faudroit pouſſer les choſes

le

le plus qu'on peut, en hazardant quelque choſe. Si V. Mté étoit bien informée de l'etat de notre armée, de celle des ennemys, du pays, et de la ſituation de leur camps, je ne croy pas qu'elle vouluſt qu'on ſe hazardat à l'attaquer. Si cela ne réuciſſoit pas, l'armée de V. Mté ſeroit perdu ſans reſource. Je me ſers de ce terme là, car je ne croye pas que ſi le deſordre s'y étoit une fois mis, qu'il fut aiſé de la retablir. Rien ne ſcauroit donner a Votre Mté une plus forte idée de tout cecy, que le ſouvenir de toutes les troupes nouvellement levées, dont generallement cett' armée eſt compoſée.

Je voy auſſi par la meme lettre de V. Mté, que ſi on ne hazarde rien preſentement, cette guerre tireroit en longeur. Je ſuis bien faché de ne pouvoir pas trouver des expedients pour la finir. Il y auroit a craindre qu'en hazardant le tout pour le tout, et que cela ne reuſſit pas, que les ennemys ſeroit bientot maitres de toute l'Irlande. Je ne comprens pas, qu'un ſi grande flotte d'Angleterre et d'Holland n'ayant rien fait tout cet eſté ne puiſſe au moins garder les coſtes d'Irlande, et y faire un diverſion par une deſcente, comme V. Mté l'avoit toujours projetté, et par là nous donner le temps d'attendre les troupes de Dannemark pour ſe ſervir de toutes ſes forces, puiſque V. Mté les deſtine pour icy ; leſquelles ne ſeroient plus d'un grand ſecours, ſi nous avions perdu une bataille avant leur arrivée. Pour ce poſte icy, dont V. Mté me parle, je puis bien le conſerver avec l'infantrie ſeule, juſques à ce que Shals aye un peu mis ſes chariots de vivres en meilleur état, comme auſſi les chevaux d'artillerie, qu'on uſent de me dire être arrivés. Je crois que tout cela ſera en état dans huit jours, apres quoy, ſi les ennemys s'oppiniatrent a demeurer à Atherde ou derriere Drogheda, V. Mté put bien juger, que je ne puis faire autre choſe que marcher ſur la riviere de Shannon, qui eſt le pays après Dublin, qu'ils conſiderent le plus.

A l'egard de ce que V. Mté me mande des grands deſordres, que les ſoldats commettent, ſur tout les François ;

çois ; quand je ſuis arrivé dans ce royaume, je n'avois que ſix mille hommes, aucuns equipages, les officiers de l'armée pas un cheval. Apres m'eſtre rendu maiſtre de Belfaſt, j'ay marché auſſitot pour aſſieger Carrickfergus. J'ay été bien aiſe que les troupes trouvaſſent acheter quelves chevaux. Cela ne ſuffiſoit pas au beſoin. Tout le deſordre qui peut s'etre commis, n'a été que prendre de petits chevaux qu'ils trouvoient dans les champs, pendant que ceux de Londonderry et d'Iniſkilling pilloient de leur coſté, et des payſans dans les glinns du leur. Parmy ceux qui ont pris quelques chevaux, il y peut avoir eu des François. Et je croy qu'on eſt bien aiſe, par les letters qu'on ecrit d'icy, de mettre cela ſur eux. Comme je ne prens le party ny des uns ny des autres, il faut pourtant dire à V. Mté, que ſi nos colonels Irlandois etoient auſſi habiles à la guerre, comme à envoyer piller dans le pays, et ne pas payer les ſoldats icy, V. Mté en ſeroit mieux ſervie ; elle pourra etre informée par d'autres, que les trois regiments d'infantrie et celui de cavallerie François, font mieux le ſervice que les autres. J'ay travaillé toute cette ſemaine a regler ce que les capitaines doivent donner à leurs ſoldats, pour tacher d'empecher les chicanes qu'ils leur font. Les colonels prennent ſi peu de ſoin de leur regiments que la moitie des piques ſont rompues, et les fuſils et mouſquets de meme, de ſorte que je ſuis forcé preſentement de leur en donner d'autres de ceux que j'avois aporté avec moy.

Si on accordoit le congé à autant d'officiers, qu'il en uſent pour le demander, une grande partie d l'armée demeurroit ſans officiers, les plus part affectant des incommodités, ou des maladies, qui n'ont d'autres fondement que de s'ennuyer beaucoup icy.

Venant d'entretenir Mr. les Comte de Solms de la penſée que j'avois d'envoyer la plupart de notre cavallerie du coté d'Ardmagh, il a trouvé une raiſon, qui eſt conſiderable, que l'ennemy pourroit ſe mettre entre elle et nous, et qu'il vaudroit mieux attendre encore quelſques jours, en donnant de l'avoine

à notre

à notre cavallerie des vaiſſeaux, et voir ſi les ennemys ne marcheront pas d'Altherde à Drogheda, ou que peutêtre en attendant un peu, les troupes de Dannemark arriveroient, et cependant ou pourvoiroient les ſoldats des ſouliers, et de meilleurs habits. En tout cecy, je croy qu'un plus habile homme y ſeroit beaucoup embaraſſé ; car les ennemys ne ſont pas ſeulement forts en nombre, mais auſſi ſont bien diſciplinés, et la ſituation des camps auſſi bien choiſie que des generaux les plus habiles pourroient faire.

Tranſlation.

12th October.

I SEE by Your Majeſty's letter, you are informed we have a greater number of ſick in this army than we have, and that to prevent our having more, we ought to puſh matters as much as we can, in hazarding ſomething. If your Majeſty was well informed of the ſtate of our army and that of our enemy, the nature of the country, and the ſituation of the two camps, I do not believe you would incline to riſk an attack. If we did not ſucceed, Your Majeſty's army would be loſt without reſource. I make uſe of that term ; for I do not believe if it was once put in diſorder, that it could be re-eſtabliſhed. Nothing can give Your Majeſty a clearer idea of all this, than the remembrance of the nature of all new raiſed troops, of which this army is chiefly compoſed.

I ſee alſo by the ſame letter from Your Majeſty, that unleſs ſomething is riſked now, the war will draw out to length. I am ſorry it is not in my power to find expedients to finiſh it. There is reaſon to fear, that if we had hazarded all for all, and had not ſucceeded, the enemy would have been immediately maſters of all Ireland. I do not underſtand why ſo great an Engliſh and Dutch fleet, which has done nothing all ſummer, ſhould not be able at leaſt to guard the coaſts of Ireland, and to make a diverſion in it, by a diſembarkation,

as Your Majesty always projected, and thereby give us time to wait for the Danish troops, so that we may make use of all our forces: but these troops would have been of little use if we had lost a battle before their arrival. As to this post which Your Majesty speaks of, I can keep it with the infantry alone, till Shales has put his waggons for the provisions into better order, as also the artillery horses, which he is in the use of telling me are arrived. I believe all this will be ready in eight days, after which, if the enemy resolve to stay at Atherdee or Drogheda, Your Majesty may judge that I can do nothing else than march to the river Shannon, which is the country which, next to Dublin, they value the most.

With regard to what Your Majesty says of the great disorders which the soldiers commit, and above all the French; when they arrived in this kingdom, I had not more than 6000 men, no equipages, and the officers of the army not one horse. After making myself master of Belfast, I marched immediately to besiege Carrickfergus. I was happy that the troops found some horses to buy. These did not answer our necessities. All the disorder that could be committed, was in taking the little horses, which were found in the fields, while the troops of Londonderry and Iniskilling pillaged on their side, and the peasants on theirs. Amongst those who took some horses, there are Frenchmen, and I believe people are very glad, in the letters which they write from hence, to lay the blame upon them. I do not take a side either way; I must however tell Your Majesty, that if our Irish colonels were as able in war as they are to send to pillage the country, and not to pay the soldiers, Your Majesty would be better served by them. You may be informed by others, that the three regiments of French cavalry and their regiment of cavalry, do their duty better than others. I have worked all this week, to regulate what the captains should give to their soldiers, to prevent their cheating the men. The colonels take so little care of their regiments,

giments, that the half of the pikes are broke, and alſo of the fuſees and muſkets; ſo that I am at preſent forced to give them others from amongſt thoſe which I brought with me.

If leave of abſence was given to as many officers as aſk it, a great part of the army would be without officers, the greateſt part affecting to be out of order, or under diſeaſes, which have no other foundation than in their wearineſs at being here.

Having communicated to Count Solms a thought which I had, to ſend the greateſt part of our cavalry on the ſide of Ardmagh, he has found an argument which is conſiderable, viz. that the enemy may put themſelves between it and us, and that it would be better to wait ſome days, giving oats from the veſſels to the cavalry, to ſee if the enemy will not march from Atherdee to Drogheda, or that perhaps in waiting a little, ſome of the Daniſh troops may arrive, and that in the mean time, ſhoes and better clothes may be providing for the ſoldiers. In all this I believe an abler man would be much embarraſſed: for the enemy are not only ſtrong in number, but alſo well diſciplined, and the ſituation of their camps as well choſen as the ableſt generals could contrive.

Part of the Duke of Schomberg's letter to King William.
——The Scotch troops arrived.——Yet it is impoſſible to advance.——Schomberg's unhappineſs.

A Dondalk le 4 de Novr. 1689.

LES trouppes qui ſont venus d'Ecoſſe conſiſtent en quatre regiments, dont les chevaux ſont fort fatigués; celuy de Haiſtings n'a pas trois cent ſoldats. Quand l'on auroit marché avec ces trouppes icy, le pays eſt faite d'une maniere que l'on ne peut obliger un enemy à en venir à une battaille, s'il ne le veut. Il ſeroit a ſouhaiter que Votre Majeſté eut parlé à un

homme qui coignoit bien ce pays icy autour. Il n'eſt pas moins difficille que la Flandre, pour obliger un enemy à donner une battaile. Tant qu'il n'y aura pas un eſtabliſſement fait avec des perſonnes à certains prix pour fournir le pain de munition, comme on fait en France, Flandre, et ailleurs, il ne ſera pas poſſible de ſoutenir cette guerre, des que l'on s'eloignera de la mer. Voila le principal article. Je ne diray rien icy des autres defauts de cette armée. Je me ſuis donné bien des peines et des fatigues pour y remedier. La choſe n'eſt pas aiſſée avec de tels officiers. Et il n'y a que la paſſion, les obligations, et le parfait devoutment pour le ſervice de Votre Majeſté, qui puiſſe me faire ſupporter les chagrins, et les peines, où je me trouve.

Tranſlation.

Dundalk, 4th Nov. 1689.

THE troops arrived from Scotland conſiſt of four regiments, of which the horſes are extremely fatigued. That of Haſtings has not three hundred ſoldiers. Though we could march with theſe troops, the country is of ſuch a form that an enemy cannot be forced to battle againſt his will. I wiſh Your Majeſty would ſpeak to a man who knows the country hereabouts well. It is not leſs difficult than Flanders for forcing an enemy to a battle. As long as there is not an eſtabliſhment made with people at certain prices for furniſhing ammunition bread, as is done in France, Flanders, and elſewhere, it will not be poſſible to ſuſtain this war, whenever we remove from the ſea. This is the principal article. I will ſay nothing of the other deficiencies of this army. I have given myſelf much pain and fatigue to remedy them. The thing is not eaſy with ſuch officers. And there is nothing but the paſſion, the obligations, and the perfect devotion which

which I have for your Majeſty, that could make me bear the chagrins and the pains which I have ſuffered.

Part of the Duke of Schomberg's letter to King William.
——Bad arrangement in every department.

A Liſborne, du 26 Decembre, 1689.

PUISQUE j'ay commencé à parler de l'artillerye, il faut dire à Votre Majeſté que je n'ay jamais veu tant de mechant officiers qu'il y en a. Ce qui peut avoir contribué à cela, c'eſt la pareſſe et inapplication aux détails de Goulon. Je veux croyre qu'il entend à faire des mines et l'uſage de la poudre, mais c'eſt le tout. Je croye être obligé en conſcience à dire la verité à Votre Majeſté, le ſeul homme que j'ay icy dont je ſuis ſoulage c'eſt le commiſſaire Halloway, lequel j'ay fait controlleur à la place d'un nomme Clerk qui vient de mourir, ayant des miniſtres avec lui, mais n'a pas voulu prier Dieu.

Pour les recreües de l'infanterye, je ſuis toujours d'opinion que Votre Majeſté les fera faire meilleurs en Angleterre. Du temps de Cromwell il avoit cette commodité, qu'il avoit pluſieurs regiments en Angleterre, d'ou il tiroit la moitié ou le tiers des ſoldats pour ſes recreües icy, leſquels ſçavoient deja manier leur armes. A quoy je dois encore ajouter cette conſideration, que l'on fait courir le bruit en Angleterre, que la peſte eſt en Irelande, et ainſy et les ſoldats et les officiers lêve parcy par la dans la pays, quand ils arriveront proche de Cheſter, aprenant par les gens mal intentionner, que la peſte eſt dans ce pays cy, ils deſerteront. Mais quand la moitié d'un regiment tout levé, armée et exercé ſera envoyé par Votre Majeſté à Highlake, il en deſertera peu. Les regimens venus d'Ecoſſe n'auront pas moins beſoins de recreües, etant arrivez icy fort foibles. Les colonels Irlandois ont plus d'inclination pour les gens de leur pays, non pas parcequ'ils les

connoiſſent plus braves dans un occaſion, mais pour tirer plus de profit de leur regiments. Nous avons vüe par experience que vers le mois de Septembre les Irlandois deſertoient tous pour aller faire leur moiſſons.

Les regiments de Liſburne, Sanky, Roſcommons, Drogheda, et Bellaſis ſont fort foibles. J'ay eté obligé de retirer ces deux derniers d'Armach, n'y ayant pas trois cents hommes dans les deux.

Quant à la cavalerie, nous avons examiné en preſence de Meſſrs. Scravemour, Lanier et Kirke leur etat, et fait un reglement, et en la maniere que l'on doit faire les recrües. Les officiers ne prennent pas ſoin de leurs cavaliers, et à les obliger de prendre ſoin de leur chevaux qu'ils ne ſe donne pas la peine de penſer.

Pour les farines, biſcuits et avoines, Vanhumery travaille à faire une etat de ce que nous avons, et ce que nous avons beſoin. Je ne voy pas les peuples fort diſpoſez à labourer leurs terres, quoy qu'ils vendent bien tout ce qu'ils ont, et l'on tient une diſcipline ſi exacte qu'ils ne tire que du profit du logement des gens de guerre. Cependant, je crains que les peuples manqueront du pain dans le printemps; mais à mon avis on pourroit prevenir ces manquemens icy, en permettant aux marchands de tranſporter d'Angleterre icy, du bled, de l'avoine et des farine, ſans payer de droits, non ſeulement icy mais auſſi du coſte du nord, pour les peuples auſſi bien que pour les ſoldats, du coſté de Belleck et Bellichanon. Je ſuis obligé auſſi d'informer Votre Majeſté que la negligence de les officiers eſt cauſe que les ſoldats ont perdue beaucoup d'armes, nonobſtant le reglement que j'avois fait que les capitaines feroient obliger d'en racheter à leurs depens: et leur negligence a été ſi grande qu'ils ſont venus en ce royaume ſans porter une tente avec eux, ſe ſervant de celles qu'on leur avoit donné pour les ſoldats. Les grand pluyes ayant preſque tout pourry les dites tentes, il faudra en faire venir d'autres.

Comme

Comme je ne me ſuis jamais trouvé dans un armée, ou il y ait tant d'officiers nouveaux et pareſſeux, Votre Majeſté n'aura pas peine à croire que cela me donne beaucoup de peine et de chagrin. Si on caſſoit tous ceux là pour ce ſujet comme ils le meritent, il en reſteroit peu.

J'ay remarqué dans tous ces ambarquements icy, qu'il manquoit de gens appliquez pour avoir ſoin des vaiſſeaux marchands à Highlake pour ambarquer les ſoldats, quoy qu'il y eut quelque envoyé de l'amirauté pour cela, il ſeroit tres neceſſaire auſſi pour le ſervice et l'epargne de Votre Majeſté, qu'il y en eut deux icy pour avoir le beſoin de faire decharger promptement toutes les denrées qu'ils apporte, pour les renvoyer ou decharger, ſi l'on n'en a plus beſoin. Cela me ſoulagera un peu des ſoins qu'il a fallu que j'ay pris. Comme auſſi les petites vaiſſeaux de guerre qui prennent toujours le pretexte qu'il leur manque quelque choſe pour n'aller pas au mer. Votre Majeſté a auſſi beſoin d'officiers de juſtice pour regler les deſordres qui ſe commettent parmy les peuples, qui ſont pareſſeux, et ne vive que de vols et de pillage. Je ne trouve pas auſſi que les miniſtres eccleſiaſtiques ſoient appliquez à leur devoir, pendant que les pretres Romains ſont fort paſſionez à exhorter les peuples à combattre pour l'egliſe Romaine, et à ſe mettre à leur tete. Je croy que ce zele du peuple Irlandois ſe trouvera à ce printemps un peu relenty, par la quantité de gens qu'on apprende qui meurt du coſté des ennemys, de la fatigue de la campagne paſſée.

Les officiers de cette armée me demandent avec grand empreſſement leur congée pour aller en Angleterre. Je les ay remis la plus part ſur ce que j'ay ecrit à Votre Majeſté pour luy en demander la permiſſion, et que je l'attens; et qu'une partie de ceux la pourront aller aux recreües, a quoy je croy qu'il n'y a pas de temps à perdre, ſur tout pour ce que regarde l'infante-

rye ; car pour la cavallerye elle arrivera aſſes à temps vers la fin d'Avril, comme auſſi celle de Danemark.

M. Herbort doit avoir rendu compte à Votre Majeſté de l'etat des regiments du pays de Londonderry et Iniſkilling. Nous avions menagé cette paye en la faiſant moins forte que celle des troupes Angloiſes qui ſont venu en ce royaume. Et je croy que comme ils n'avoient rien du tout auparavant, ils devroient être content de celle qu'ils ont preſentement. Car quoy que ceux d'Iniſkilling ayont acquis quelque reputation dans le combat qu'ils gagnerent, il y a eu bien du bonheur de leur coſte, et de la confuſion des ennemys qui n'etoient point enſemble. Lorſque j'ay envoyé des troupes d'Iniſkilling du coſte de Sligo, l'affair a manqué, par ce que la plus part des ſoldats etoient tous allez chez eux. Et je ſuis d'opinion qu'on ſe peut ſervir de l'exemple des royaumes de France et d'Eſpagne, où on ne donne pas à beaucoup pres tant de paye aux ſoldats du pays qu'aux corps etrangers.

M. Herbort eſt party ſans nous avoir laiſſé de l'argent pour payer les troupes. Il faut eſperer, comme il m'a mande de Highlake, qu'il en envoyera de Cheſter ; mais il nous a laiſſé dans une grand confuſion. A l'egard des officiers, il n'a point fait aucun deconte avec eux. Ils s'excuſent la deſſus, qu'ils n'ont point d'argent pour leur ſubſiſtance, ny pour ſoulager leur ſoldats. Je croy que je menage à moins l'argent de Votre Majeſté, comme elle pourra voir par le contingent money ; mais M. Herbort, dans les depenſes generalls, a de la peine à de defaire de l'argent qui eſt juſtement due ; dont le retardement ne peut porter que de la confuſion. Depuis qu'il eſt party, j'ay fait difficulté de ſigner les payments que les commis font : luy meme, auſſi bien que moy, ayant decouvert, que ſes dits commis ſe ſont faits agents de tous les regiments Anglois de cette armée, et par là ils ſe mettent dans les intereſts des colonels. Jamais on n'a vüe tant des gens avoir envie de voler. Pour la compagnie de M. Herbort, je ne l'ay point encore vüe que l'etandard dans ſa chambre. On

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dit que les officiers le ſervent de ſecretaire et de commis. Je ne voye pas que Herbort aye bien examiné les comtes du major genl. Kirk, ou qu'il n'a pas oſé les finir, á ce que j'apprens le dit Mr. Kirk n'apportant point de quittance du payment des regmts. qui etoient avec luy. Je croy auſſi, qu'il eſt neceſſaire de faire ſouvenir V. Majeſté, à faire examiner à qu'elle prix l'argent ſe donne icy. Si cela eſt au profit de M. Herbort, avec les droits qu'il tire ſur les payments qu'il fait a l'armêe, comme treſorier, cela va à une ſomme fort conſiderable par an.

Je ſuis bien faché d'importuner Votre Majeſté d'un ſi long memoire. On ne peût pas ſe diſpenſer de le faire, et encore de la prier qu'elle ne le laiſſe pas lire publiquement.

Tranſlation.

Liſborne, 26th December, 1689.

SINCE I am ſpeaking of the artillery, I muſt tell Your Majeſty that I never ſaw ſo many bad officers as there are in it. What may have contributed to this, is Goulon's lazineſs and want of application. I believe he underſtands the making of mines and the uſe of powder, but that is all. I think myſelf obliged in conſcience to tell truth to Your Majeſty. The only man here who has given me relief, is commiſſary Halloway, whom I have made controller in the place of one named Clark, who is juſt dead, having had miniſters with him, but refuſing to pray to God.

With regard to the recruiting the infantry, I am always of opinion it would be better to do it in England. In the time of Cromwell, he had the conveniency of ſeveral regiments in England, from whence he draughted the half or third of the ſoldiers for recruits here, who underſtood to manage their arms: to which I ought to add this conſideration, that a report is ſpread in England, of the plague being in Ireland; and thus, when the ſoldiers, whom the officers raiſe here and there in

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the country, come near Chester, and are told by people of bad intentions, that the plague is in Ireland, they will desert: but when the half of a regiment, all raised, armed, and exercised together, shall be sent by Your Majesty to Highlake, few of them will desert. The regiments from Scotland have no less need of recruits, having come here very weak. The Irish colonels have more inclination for the people of their own country, not because they know them to be more brave upon an occasion, but to draw the greater profit from the regiments. We have seen by experience, that towards the month of September the Irish all deserted.

The regiments of Lisborne, Sankey, Roscommon, Drogheda, and Bellasis, are very weak. I have been obliged to withdraw these two last from Ardmach, there not being three hundred men in the two.

With regard to the cavalry, we have examined their state in presence of Messieurs Scravemore, Lanier, and Kirck, and made an establishment, and likewise in the manner of their recruiting. The officers take no care of their troopers, or of obliging them to attend to their horses, which they are not at the pains even to blood.

With regard to the grain and biscuits, and hay, Van Humery is making a state of what we have and what we need. I do not see the people much disposed to labour their grounds, although they sell well all that they have: and so exact a discipline is kept, that they draw nothing but gain from giving lodging to the soldiers. However, I am afraid the people may want bread in the spring; but in my opinion, these wants may be prevented, if the merchants were permitted to carry grain and bread, and hay, without paying duties, not only here, but also in the North, for the people as well as for the soldiers, on the side Belleck and Bellechanon. I have also to tell Your Majesty, that the negligence of the officers is the cause why the soldiers have lost many of their arms, notwithstanding the regulation I made, that the captains should replace them at their own expence: and their negligence has been so great, that they

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are come into this kingdom without a tent with them, and make uſe of thoſe which were given them for their ſoldiers. The great rains have rotted the tents; it is neceſſary that others be ſent.

As I never was in an army where there are ſo many new and lazy officers, Your Majeſty will have no difficulty to believe that this gives me much trouble and chagrin. If all were broke who deſerved it on this account, there would be few left.

I have remarked in all the embarkations here, that there are wanting people to have an eye upon the merchant veſſels at Heylake, in the embarkation of the ſoldiers. Although there was one ſent from the admiralty for this purpoſe, it would be neceſſary for the ſervice, and a ſaving to Your Majeſty, that there were two here, to take care for the ſpeedy landing of the proviſions, and to ſend them back or diſcharge them if there was no need of them. This would relieve me a little of the attention which I am obliged to pay. They ought likewiſe to have an eye upon the ſmall veſſels of war, who uſe always the pretext that they want ſomething or other for not going to ſea. Your Majeſty has alſo need of officers of juſtice, to repreſs the diſorders among people who are lazy, and live only by theft and pillage. I alſo do not find that the miniſters apply themſelves enough to their duty, whilſt the Romiſh prieſts are paſſionate to exhort the people to die for the church of Rome, and in putting themſelves at their head. I believe that the zeal of the Iriſh people will cool itſelf a little this ſpring, on account of the numbers who, we learn, have died on the enemy's ſide of the fatigues of laſt campaign.

The officers of this army are very preſſing for leave of abſence. I put moſt of them off with my having wrote to Your Majeſty, to aſk your leave, and that I wait for it; and that a part of them may go to recruit. There is no time to be loſt in this laſt ſervice, eſpecially for the infantry; for as to the cavalry, it will come

time

time enough in the end of April, as alſo that from Denmark.

Mr. Harbord will have given Your Majeſty an account of the ſtate of the regiments of Londonderry and Iniſkilling. We ſpared upon the pay, in making it leſs than that of the troops which came from England; and as they had formerly nothing, they ſhould be now content with what they have. For though the Iniſkilliners acquired ſome reputation in the battle which they won, there was much good luck on their ſide, and confuſion on that of the enemy, who had not got together. When I ſent the Iniſkilliners towards Sligo, the affair failed, becauſe moſt of the ſoldiers were gone home: and I think we may make uſe of the examples of France and Spain, where they do not give ſo much pay to native as to ſtranger corps.

Mr. Harbord is gone without leaving us money to pay the troops. I hope that he will ſend it from Cheſter, as he writes from Heyleck he will do: but he has left us in great confuſion. With regard to the officers, he has paid them no arrears. On this account they excuſe themſelves, that they have no money for their ſubſiſtence, or the relief of the ſoldiers. I at leaſt ſpare Your Majeſty's money, as you will ſee by the bill of contingencies. But Mr. Harbord, in the general expences, makes a difficulty to part with money which is juſtly due; a delay which muſt bring on confuſion. Since he is gone, I have made a difficulty to ſign the commiſſaries payments; he as well as I having diſcovered that theſe commiſſaries are agents to all the Engliſh regiments of this army, by which they put themſelves in the intereſt of the colonels. Never were ſo many people ſeen ſo deſirous of ſtealing. As for Mr. Harbord's company, I never ſaw any part of it but the ſtandard in his chamber. They ſay that his officers ſerve him in the qualities of ſecretary and commiſſary. I find that Harbord has not well examined major geteral Kirk's accounts, or that he has not dared to finiſh them, as I learn that Kirk did not bring with him his diſcharges

discharges for the payment of the regiments which he had with him. I believe it is also necessary to remind Your Majesty to cause examine the value of money here. If the difference goes to the profit of Mr. Harbord, with the percentage, which as treasurer he draws upon the payments of the army, it must go to a great sum in the year.

I am troubled to importune Your Majesty with so long a memorial. I could not avoid doing it, and begging Your Majesty not to allow it to be read in public.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—He falls ill—his indignation at the complaints from England against him.

Lisborne du 27 Decembre 1689.

J'AY bien fait des reflexions sur ce que Votre Majesté m'a fait la grace de m'ecrire du $\frac{29}{19}$ Decembre, et sans l'ennuyer de l'etat de mon indisposition, je puis l'asseurer que mon envie d'aller en Angleterre, n'est venu que de la, et que les medecins croyent que l'air et les eaux chaudes me gueriroient de ce mal dont mon fils l'aura entretenu à prefent. Il y en a en Angleterre qui croyent que je me fers de ce mal pour une pretexte, qui que cela ne foit pas vray. J'avoüe, sire, que sans une profonde soumission que j'ay aux volontez de Votre Majesté, que je prefererois l'honneur d'etre souffert aupres d'elle au commandement d'une armée en Ireland comme étoit composée celle de la campagne passé : et si j'eusse hazardé une bataille (ce qui étoit difficile à faire si les enemis eussent voulu demeurer dans leur camp) j'aurois peutêtre perdu tout ce quelle a dans ce royaume, sans parler des consequences qui en seroit ensuivies en Ecosse jusques en Angleterre. M'étant trouvé dans un tel etat, aidé de fort peu de personnes, chargé d'une infinité de details qui m'occupoient, pendant que d'autres generaux ne songent qu'au plus important d'une guerre. Je dis, sire, qu'il n'y a que mon dévoüement pour les commandements de son service. Je souhaite seulement que ce mal ne m'empeche

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pas d'agir comme je le voudrois. Lorſque je l'ay pû faire, je me ſuis preſque chargé de tout ; n'étant pas beaucoup ſoulagé des officiers generaux Anglois ou Ecoſſois.

D'ailleurs ce qui peut rebutter le plus de cet employ icy, c'eſt que je vois par le paſſé, qu'il ſera difficile à l'avenir, de contenter les parlements et les peuples, qui ſont prevenus qu'un ſoldat Anglois quoy que nouvellement levé en battra plus de ſix de ennemys. L'on auroit tort de m'envier cet employ pour les profits que j'en tire. Je n'ay pas encore trouvé cette invention ; quand je l'aurois découvert, je ne le pratiquerois pas, me contentant des appointments que l'on me donne, et que l'on voit bien icy que j'en dépenſe le double.

Tranſlation.

Liſborne, 27th December, 1689.

I HAVE made many reflexions on what Your Majeſty had the goodneſs to write on the $\frac{20}{10}$ of December, and without tiring you with the ſtate of my indiſpoſition, I can aſſure you, that my deſire to go to England ariſes only from that cauſe, and that the phyſicians believe the air and the hot waters will cure me of that ailment which my ſon informed you of. There are people in England who believe that I make uſe of this ailment as a pretence, although that is not true. I confeſs, Sir, that without the profound ſubmiſſion which I have for Your Majeſty's will, I would prefer the honour of being permitted to be near your perſon, to the command of an army in Ireland compoſed as that of laſt compaign was. And if I had riſked a battle, (which was difficult to do if the enemy inclined to keep in their camp,) I might perhaps have loſt all that you have in this kingdom, not to ſpeak of the conſequences which would have followed in Scotland, and even in England. Finding myſelf in ſuch a ſtate, aſſiſted by very few perſons, charged with an infinity of details which occupied me, while other generals attend only

only to the important part of the war: I say, Sir, there is nothing but my devotion for your Majesty's commands, which obliges me to sacrifice the health I have left to your service. I wish only that this ailment may not hinder me to act as I wish. Whilst I was able I took the charge of every thing upon me, not being much relieved by the English or Scotch general officers.

Besides what shocks one the most in this employment is, that I see by the past, it will be difficult for the future, to content the parliament and the people, who have a prejudice that an English new raised soldier can beat above six of his enemies. People are in the wrong to envy me this employment for the profits which I draw from it. I have not as yet fallen upon that invention; and though I should discover it, I should not practise it; being contented with the appointments which are given me, and because people see well here that I spend the double of them.

Part of a Letter from the Duke of Schomberg to King William.——Condition of the army in winter.

Lisborne, du 30 Decembre, 1689.

COMME j'allois fair partir plusieurs memoires pour Votre Majesté, un expresse m'apporté de sa part son billet du $\frac{16}{26}$ Decembre, par laquel Votre Majesté m'a mandé qu'elle trouve la saison trop avancée pour envoyer Trelany avec ses troupes du costé de Kork, et qu'elle m'envoyera l'infanterye Danoise icy, pour nous fortifier dans nos quartiers. Cela empechera les ennemys à s'en approcher. Les maladies commencent à se diminuer. Votre Majesté trouvera par les rolles des montres, que nous sommes plus forts que nous ne sommes pas. Je croy que si Votre Majesté faisoit chasser tous les commissaries des montres, ce seroit le mieux. Les officiers pour de l'argent en font ce qu'ils veulent. Et se servir de la methode d'Hollande, les capitaines de l'armée s'obligeants à tenir leurs compagnies complettes

tes le premier de May, et chatier ceux qui y manqueront.

My Lord Liſborne, dont le regiment eſt le plus foible, l'a fait paſſer fort. Il y a meſlé 200 Irlandois. Je luy ay dit que l'intention de Votre Majeſté n'etoit pas de meler des Irlandois parmy les regiments Anglois, mais de laiſſer les Irlandois aux regiments d'Iniſkilling et Londonderry. La conduite du mylord Liſborne n'eſt pas bonne. Il paſſe la vie à jouer et boire. Peu de vin l'enyvre : apres cela, il tient des diſcours avec les officiers, qui vont juſque aux ſoldats, qui ſont pernicieux au ſervice. Puiſque Votre Majeſté lui a permis d'aller en Angleterre ; je croy qu'il vaudroit mieux qu'il y demeura, et que ſon regiment fut mis dans un autre. Pour les regiments a reformer, je les feray executer comme Votre Majeſté me l'ordonne. Et j'eſpere qu'elle ne deſaprouvera de ce que j'ay fait, par l'avis des majors generaux Scravemour, Kirk et L'Annier, de mettre le regiment de Drogheda dans celui de Goor, puiſque il n'y a pas de colonel ny lieutenant colonel, et en laiſſer le commandement à mylord Drogheda. J'envoye auſſi cy joint, l'etat des regiments levé en Irlande, et la reduction de la cavallerie. J'eſpere que votre Majeſté l'approuvera, et l'etat de leur payement. Il ne faut pas faire etat ſur ces troupes la que comme ſur les cravattes. Un jour d'une bataille ils ſe jetteront toujours ſur le premier pillage. M. Herbort en penſa faire l'experience : ayant voulu aller avec le C. de Schonberg la nuit en partie, armé de ſon mouſqueton, tomba en bas de ſon cheval. Cinque ou ſix cavaliers de Iniſkilling commencerent à le deſhabiller et de le depoüiller, quoy qu'il cria qu'il etoit le pay-maſter, qu'il donneroit de l'argent afin qu'on le ramena au camp. Un officier François en paſſant l'ayant reconnu, les Iniſkillings le ramerent. Mais de cette hiſtoire il faut paſſer à une plus ſerieuſe, qui eſt qu'il s'en eſt allé ſans nous laiſſer d'argent pour les troupes. Cela cauſe deja du deſordre dans les quartiers ou il y en a qui ne payent pas leur hoſtes. Je m'en vais travailler à voir ſi je puis

emprunter

emprunter quelque argent des doüannes de Votre Majeſté dont le revenu commence a être conſiderable.

J'aye epargné à votre Majeſté, ſur le train d'artillerie, depuis que je ſuis icy, trois milles livres ſterlings; elle le trouvera de meme ſi elle fait examiner les comptes du contingent money; comme je n'aime pas à piller, je tache autant que je puis que Votre Majeſté ne le ſoit pas par des gens qui ne penſent qu'à cela icy.

Ayant examiné le memoire que j'envoye à Votre Majeſté, par le paquet que j'envoye à M. Blathwayt, de la maniere qu'on payoit icy les officiers du temps du Roy Charles Second, la paye y eſt auſſy haute que celle des officiers en Angleterre, cela ne me paroiſt pas juſte. Votre Majeſté pourroit en diminuer au moins un quart.

Tranſlation.

Liſborne, 30th December 1689.

WHilſt I was going to ſend ſeveral memorials to Your Majeſty, an expreſs brought me a note of $\frac{16}{26}$ December, by which your Majeſty intimates that you find the ſeaſon too far advanced to ſend Trelawny with the troops to Cork, and that you would ſend me the Daniſh infantry to fortify our quarters. This will prevent the enemy from approaching us. The diſeaſes begin to diminiſh. Your Majeſty will find by the muſter rolls that we are ſtronger than we really are. I believe if your Majeſty would drive away all the commiſſaries of muſters, it would be better. The officers for money do with them what they pleaſe. It would be better to make uſe of the Dutch method, which is to oblige the captains to have their companies compleat on the firſt of May, and to chaſtiſe thoſe who fail.

My lord Liſborne, whoſe regiment is the weakeſt, made it appear ſtrong. He mixed two hundred Iriſh in it. I told him your Majeſty's intention was not to mix Iriſh amongſt the Engliſh regiments, but to leave the Iriſh to the Iniſkilling and Londonderry regiments. My lord Liſborne's conduct is not good. He paſſes his

life at play and the bottle; a little wine fuddles him. After this he holds diſcourſes with the officers which go even to the ſoldiers, that are pernicious to the ſervice. Since your Majeſty has given him leave to go to England, I believe it would be better he ſhould continue there, and that his regiment was put into other hands.

With regard to the regiments to be broke, it ſhall be done as your Majeſty orders. And I hope you will not diſapprove of what I have done by the advice of the majors general Scravemore, Kirk, and Lanier, in putting the regiment of Drogheda into that of Gower, ſince it has neither colonel nor lieutenant colonel, and in giving the command of it to my lord Drogheda. I ſend likewiſe annexed the ſtate of the regiments levied in Ireland and the reduction of the cavalry. I hope your Majeſty will approve of it, and the ſtate of their pay. One muſt count upon theſe troops only as ſo many cravates. In the day of battle they will always throw themſelves upon the firſt plunder. Mr. Harbord had the experience of this, for having gone one night with his fowling-piece upon a party with count Schomberg, he fell from his horſe; five or ſix Iniſkillen troopers began to ſtrip and rob him, although he cried that he was pay-maſter, and that he would give them money to carry him to the camp. A French officer, in paſſing, having known him, the Iniſkilleners then brought him back. But from this ſtory I muſt go to a more ſerious one, which is that he has gone off without leaving us money for the troops. This cauſes diſorder already in the troops, where there are people who do not pay their landlords. I am going to ſee if I can borrow money from your Majeſty's cuſtomhouſes whoſe revenues begin to be conſiderable.

I have ſpared your Majeſty ſince I came here, 3000 pounds upon the artillery, and the ſame upon the contingent money, if you will look at the accounts. As I don't love to pillage, I do what I can to prevent others from doing it, who think of nothing elſe.

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Having examined the memorial which I ſent to your Majeſty by Mr. Blaithwait's packet, concerning the manner in which the officers were paid in the time of Charles II. the pay there is as high as that of the officers in England, which does not appear to be juſt. Your Majeſty may diminiſh at leaſt a quarter.

Duke of Schomberg to King William. — Lord Dlamer and other colonels in England, their neglect of their regiments.

Le 4me Janvier, 1689.

VOyant le regiment de la Mer en ſi mauvais ordre, j'ay êté obligé d'en donner le commandement au colonel Rouſſel. Peutêtre mylord de la Mer le trouvera t-il mauvais de moy, ſi votre Majeſté ne luy dit qu'elle me la commandé. Celuy qui en eſtoit major s'etant retiré, (acauſe du lieutenant colonel Brodnax qui s'en eſt allé,) je luy ay fait ecrire de venir. Si V. Mté l'agrée, on le fera lieutenant colonel. Mylord de la Mer auſſi bien que d'autres colonels en Angleterre, envoyent icy des memoires avec des gens d'Angleterre pour les faire officiers, parmi leſquels il y en a peu qui meritent de l'être.

Tranſlation.

SEing Lord de la Mer's regiment in ſo bad order, I was obliged to give the command of it to colonel Ruſſell. Perhaps lord de la Mer may take this amiſs of me, if your Majeſty does not tell him I have your orders for it. The major of it having retired (on account of lieutenant colonel Brodnax who is gone away) I have cauſed him to be writ to to come here. If your Majeſty pleaſes he may be appointed lieutenant colonel. Lord de la Mer, as well as the other colonels in England, ſend memorials here with people from England to be made officers, among whom there are few who deſerve to be ſo.

Part of a letter from the Duke of Schomberg to King William.——Things continue in a bad ſtate.

Liſborne, le 9e Janvier, 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

J'AY preſſé de partir le capitaine St. Saveur afin que votre Majeſté fut informé de l'ambaras ou je me trouve, de ce que M. Herbort nous a laiſſé ſans argent. Il m'a fait deux ou trois tours de meme à Dondalk. Quand les affaires vont mal, il s'echape. La frayeur le prit de tomber malade. Il prit le pretexte d'aller à Belfaſt, pour y prendre ſoin que les malades n'y manquaſſent de rien. Huit jours apres j'appris qu'il etoit allez à une aſſes belle maiſon pour y reſpirer un bon air, ſans avoir envoyé ſeulement un de ſes gens à Belfaſt pour s'informer de l'tat de l'hoſpital. Je ne ſuis icy aidé de perſonne. Je ne ſçay ſi votre Majeſté en fera bien ſervy; c'eſt un homme qui penſe trop à ſes intereſts particuliers.

Je ſuis bien aiſe que la cavalerye Danoiſe ne vient pas ſi tôt, car je crains que nous n'ayons pas aſſez de paille et de foin icy pour la cavallerie que nous y avons. Pour de l'avoyne, il ne tiendra qu'a Van Humery de nous en faire venir, mais c'eſt un petit genye pour un telle affaire. Son aſſocie ne vient pas d'Angleterre, et Van Humery n'a pas un ſol que quelque peu d'argent que je luy ay fait preſter. Je luy ay dit de mander à ſon aſſocié d'acheter une grand quantité d'avoyne, dont on en peut auſſy faire vendre aux officiers d'infanterye. S'ils ne font pas un meilleur equipage que l'annèe, ils ne feront pas capable de ſervir la campagne prochaine.

Si les regiments d'infanterye Francoiſe avoient pu obtenir de l'argent de Herbort, ils auroient deja fait partir pour des recreües en Suiſſe. De ces trois regiments et de celuy de cavallerye, votre Majeſté en tire plus de ſervice que du double des autres.

Votre Majeſté aura vû par mon precedent memoire, les raiſons que j'ay fait comprendre à ces troupes d'Iniſkilling et Derry, qu'il n'etoit pas juſte qu'ils euſſent leur

leur paye auſſy haute que les Anglois qui ont été envoyez par votre Majeſté en ce royaume. Ils ne s'en eloignent pas. Mais ayant bien examiné le paye des officiers Irlandois, elle eſt preſque auſſy haute que celle des officiers Anglois. Ce qui me ſemble eſt trop pour des officiers, dont les plupart ſont des payſans.

Il eſt deux ou trois regiments d'infanteries Françoiſe en ſubſiſtence ſeulement, ſans parler du déconte des officiers environ mille livres Sterlings chacun. Comme le ſoldat ne peut rien acheter au marché, cela le met dans une grande diſette, et en fait tomber beaucoup malade. Les colonels n'ont pas laiſſé de faire partir des officiers pour faire des recreües en Suiſſe; mais il faudroit qu'on leur donna quelque argent ſur bon compte de ce qui leur eſt deu. Ils ont écrit à M. Leſtang, afin qu'il reçoive les ordres de votre Majeſté ſur cette article: car pour Mr. Herbort, il ne finit jamais quand il eſt queſtion de payer les troupes, comme je l'ay mandé à votre Majeſté; à quoy je ſuis obligé d'ajouter, que ce qui nous a fait manquer de medicine la campagne paſſé, c'eſt que Herbort n'a pas voulu donner de l'argent à l'apoticaire Augibaut, à Londres, quoyque je luy en ay parlé ſouvent, et envoyé chez luy. Il y a d'autres plaintes icy de luy, cela ſeroit trop long. Son avarice n'a que trop paru, particulierement en ce point, qu'il n'a pas fait de deconte de pas un regiment, ce qui nous cauſe icy une grande confuſion.

Votre Majeſté auroit bien beſoin icy de quelque perſonnes de juſtice: ceux qui j'ay voulu employer icy ne ſongent qu'á leur intereſts, et on fait plus de confuſion que de bien.

M. Duglaſs, lieutenant-general, m'a montré une lettre de M. le compte de Solms, par laquelle il luy mande qu'il a obtenu de votre Majeſté ſon congé pour aller à Londres. J'y mandé dans un de mes memoires à votre Majeſté, qu'il ne s'etoit pas fait aimer dans cette armée, on l'a trouvée fort fier. C'eſt de quoy on ne ſe mettroit pas tant en peine, ſi cela etoit reparé par une grande capacité. Je ne voy pas icy d'officiers generaux

capable de commander une aiſle d'une armée le jour d'une battaille.

M. Duglaſs pourra dire à votre Majeſté, que les regiments qui ſont ſur la frontier d'Armagh, Teinan, Clanniſh, et Newry, ſouffrent un peu de n'être pas bien logez, et de coucher ſur la paille. Mais ſi nous abandonnions ces places, cela etreſſiroit nos quartiers, et donneroit lieu aux ennemys de s'en prevaloir, qui ne ſont pas plus à leur aiſe que nous, et dont il en meurt tous les jours beaucoup et de leur payſans. La nation Angloiſe eſt ſi delicatement elevée, que d'abord qu'ils ſont hors de leur pays, ils déperiſſent partout où je les ay vû ſervir, dans les pays etrangers, les premiers campagnes.

Je croy, Sire, être de mon devoir dire encore un mot ſur le ſujet de M. Herbort, dont j'ay deja parlé à votre Majeſté dans un des mes memoires. C'eſt à l'egard des guinées et des cabs. Ceux qui ſavent mieux calculer ces choſes la que moy, m'ont fait entendre, que le profit qui ſe retire la deſſus, ſur toute la depenſe que l'on fait pour l'armée, il y a un gain de plus de quarante mille livres ſterlings par an. Pourveu que cela aille au proffit de votre Majeſté, je ſuis ſatisfait. Il ſeroit bien neceſſaire qu'il y eut en ce pays cy comme un intendant qui eut une inſpection generale, cela empecheroit bien des gens à voler.

M. de Scravemour a été voir la cavallerye du coſté de la comtê de Doune, comme il en informera ſans doute votre Majeſté. Je n'ay rien à ajouter, ſinon que les regiments de la Mere, Devonſhire, et Hewett ſont tous compoſez d'officiers qui n'ont jamais veu de campagne, que la dernier. M. Beyerlay, qui eſt lieutenant-colonel du regiment d'Hewett, me paroiſt un honneſte homme, et de plus appliquez, mais je ne croy pas qu'il ayt jamais veu tirer un coup de piſtollet. Il ſeroit à deſirer, que ſi votre Majeſté luy donne le regiment, qu'elle y met un bon lieutenant-colonel. On en trouveroit bien icy qui ſeroient propre à cela parmy les officiers François,

çois, mais de moy meme, je n'en met pas parmy les Anglois, à moins qu'ils ne le demandent.

J'ay parlé à votre Majeſté peutêtre trop ſouvent des moyens pour porter des vivres avec l'armée. Van Humery, comme je luy a dit auſſi, eſt peu capable pour la campagne. Cependant, je voy que M. de Scravemour le prend fort à ſa protection; il en faiſoit de meme de Shales. Je ne pretend pas entrer dans ce ſecret pour quoi il le fait; mais je croy auſſy qu'il eſt de mon devoir d'en avertir votre Majeſté, comme j'ay fait auſſytôt que j'ay debarqué icy avec les troupes. Depuis que Shales eſt en priſon, et qu'il a été examiné par ſir John Tapom, qui a viſité ſes papiers, il y a trouvé cette lettre, que je n'ay pas jugé à propos qu'il laiſſa parmy d'autres papiers, pour envoyer en Angleterre; mais qu'il falloit mieux que je l'envoyaſſe dans mon paquett à votre Majeſté, laquelle elle peut bruler apres l'avoir leü ſi elle juge à propos. J'aurois fait partir le dit Shales, n'etoit qu'il eſt malade auſſi.

Tranſlation.

Liſborne, 9th January, 1689.

I PRESSED Captain St. Sauveur to leave this, that your Majeſty may be informed of the embarraſſment I am under, by Mr. Harbord's leaving us without money. He played me two or three of the ſame tricks at Dundalk. When affairs go ill, he makes his eſcape. He took fright that he ſhould fall ill. He uſed as a pretence for going to Belfaſt, that he was to take care the ſick ſhould want nothing. Eight days after, I learnt that he was gone to a fine houſe to breathe a good air, without having ſent even one of his people to Belfaſt, to get a ſtate of the hoſpital. I am not aſſiſted here by any body. I do not know if he will ſerve your Majeſty well: he is a man who looks too much to his own intereſt.

I am glad that the Daniſh cavalry does not come ſo ſoon, for I fear that we have not enough of ſtraw and oats here for the cavalry which we have. As for hay, it will ſtand at Van Humery to make it come; but he has a ſmall genius for ſuch an affair: his partner does not come from England, and Van Humery has not a penny but what I have lent him. I have told him to write to his partner to buy a great quantity of hay, of which he may ſell a part to the officers of the infantry. If they do not provide better equipages than they did laſt year, they will not be capable of ſerving next campaign. If the regiments of French infantry could have got money from Harbord, they might already have ſent into Swiſſerland for recruits. Your Majeſty gets more ſervice from theſe three regiments, and from that of their cavalry, than from twice the number of any others.

Your Majeſty will ſee by my laſt memorial, the reaſons which I gave to the troops of Iniſkilling and Derry, to ſhow them it was not juſt they ſhould have as high pay as Engliſh troops ſent into this kingdom. They ſeem to yield to them; but the pay of the Iriſh officers being well examined, it is almoſt as high as the Engliſh. This appears to be too much for officers, moſt part of whom are peaſants.

There are two or three regiments of French infantry, who have only ſubſiſtence money, not to mention 1000*l.* due to each of them, for the arrears of the officers. As the ſoldier cannot buy any thing in the market, this reduces him to famine, and makes many of them fall ill. The colonels have not neglected to ſend the officers to Swiſſerland for recruits: but they ought to have had ſome of the money that is due to them. They have written to Mr. Le Stang to receive your Majeſty's orders upon this article; for as to Mr. Harbord, he never brings things to an end, when the queſtion is to pay the troops, as I told your Majeſty; to which I am obliged to add, that what made us want medicines laſt campaign was, that Mr. Harbord would

not

not give money to the apothecary, Augebaut, though I ſpoke to him of it, and ſent to him. There are other complaints of him here, which would be too long. His avarice has appeared too much, particularly in his not having paid the officers' arrears, which cauſes a great confuſion here.

Your Majeſty will need here ſome officers of juſtice. Thoſe whom I employed here think of nothing but their intereſt, and create more confuſion than good.

Lieutenant general Douglas ſhewed me a letter from count Solmes, in which he tells him that he has got your Majeſty's leave of abſence. I told your Majeſty, in a former memorial, that he was not beloved in this army, he being thought too haughty. This might be overlooked if he made up for it by great capacity. I do not ſee any general officers here capable of commanding the wing of an army in the day of battle.

Mr. Douglas will tell your Majeſty that the regiments on the frontiers of Ardmagh, Tunan, Clanniſh, Newry, ſuffer a little from not being well lodged, and lying on ſtraw. But if we abandon thoſe places, it would ſtraiten our quarters, and enable the enemy to make uſe of them, who are not more at their eaſe than us. Many of them and of their peaſants die every day. The Engliſh nation is ſo delicately bred, that, as ſoon as they are out of their own country, they die the firſt campaign, in all the foreign countries where I have ſeen them ſerve.

I think it, Sir, my duty to ſay a word of Mr. Harbord, of whom I have ſpoken in a former letter: it is with regard to the guineas and cabs. Thoſe who underſtand the calculation of theſe things better than me, tell me, that the profit upon theſe, on the expence of the whole army, amounts to above 40,000 *l.* a year. If that is ſaved for your Majeſty, I am ſatisfied. It will be neceſſary, that there was in this country an intendant, who had a general inſpection. This would prevent many from ſtealing.

Mr.

Mr. Scravemore has been to ſee the cavalry in the county of Down, as he will doubtleſs have informed your Majeſty. I have nothing to add, but that the regiments of de la Mer, Devonſhire, and Hewet, are all compoſed of officers who never ſaw a campaign but the laſt. Mr. Beverly, the lieutenant-colonel of Hewet's regiment, appears to be an honourable man, and to have application: but I do not believe that he ever ſaw a piſtol fired. It were to be wiſhed, if your Majeſty gives him the regiment, that you would put into it a good lieutenant-colonel: ſeveral proper for it might be found among the French officers. But I never of my own accord put any French amongſt the Engliſh, unleſs the Engliſh themſelves deſire it.

I have ſpoke to your Majeſty, perhaps too often, upon the methods of carrying proviſions to the army. Van Humery, as I mentioned alſo, has little capacity for a campaign; however I ſee Mr. Scravemore takes him much under his protection. He did the ſame to Shales. I do not pretend to enter into the ſecret why he does it; but I think it my duty to let your Majeſty know it, as I did as ſoon as I landed here with the troops. Since Shales was in priſon, and examined by Sir John Topham, who inſpected his papers, this letter was found, which I did not think right ſhould be left to be ſent among the other papers to England, but thought it better to ſend by my packet to your Majeſty, who may burn it after having read it, if you think proper. I would have ſent off Shales if he had not been ill.

Part of a letter from the Duke of Schomberg to King William.——Detail of ſervice.——Complaints.

De Liſborne, le 10 Fevrier, 1690.

IL y a un article dans cette dépeche du committé d'Irlande, qui eſt de payer les regiments de Londonderry et Iniſkilling ſur le même pied que les regiments Anglois. Puiſque c'eſt la l'intention de Votre Majeſté, il faudra qu'ils ſe mettent ſur un mellieur pied; car juſques

juſques icy ces troupes la étoient ſur un pied de libertinage, et de voler, et piller. C'eſt ce qui a eté cauſe que le colonel Rouſſel ne put mener avec lui toutes les troupes d'Iniſkilling, que j'avois fait partir pour ſe ſaiſir du poſte de Slego, et de le maintenir.

Le lieutenant-colonel Roſs, du regiment de dragon de Wynn, s'en va en Angleterre pour y acheter quelques ſelles et brides, pour raccommoder ce regiment; lequel, auſſy bien que toute cette cavalerye et dragons d'Iniſkilling, ſont fort mal montez, beaucoup d'officiers et des ſoldats mal faits; mais puiſque Votre Majeſté leur fait une grace ſi particuliere de les vouloir payer comme des troupes levées en Angleterre, on obligera les officiers des dits regiments à avoir des officiers et ſoldats mieux faits. Votre Majeſté ordonnera, s'il luy plaiſt, que M. Herbort donne quelque argent au lieutenant-colonel Roſs, pour acheter les choſes neceſſaires, et pour revenir promptement.

Je me ſuis deffendu de donner congé à tous ceux qu'il a ète poſſible de s'en diſpenſer, car tous les officiers de cette armée ont une grande envie d'aller en Angleterre.

My lord Liſburn part preſentment, auſſi ſur la permiſſion qu'il a obtenu par une lettre de my lord Shrewsbury. Je luy ay dit ſuivant ce que Votre Majeſté m'a mandé, qu'il pouvoit garder les bons hommes, qu'il avoit levez depuis peu en ce pays icy, mais qu'on ne vouloit plus de ſes miſerables garçons Anglois et Irlandois, dont ils ſont farçy leur regiments quand ils ſont paſſé icy.

Il eſt arrivé icy un miniſtre, qui dit avoir obtenu une commiſſion en Angleterre, pour être le chapelain du regiment du colonel Rouſſel. J'avois deja remply cette place d'un autre chapelain il y a deux mois: Votre Majeſté me mandera ce qu'elle veut que je faſſe en cela: les eccleſiaſtiques de ce pays ſont des gens peu attachez à leur paroiſſes.

Votre Majeſté me permettra que je luy faſſe ſouvenir de ce qui regarde le train de l'artillerye icy, afin de mettre

mettre un bon officier a la place de Glaum, qui eſt mort. Celui qui preſentement gouverne tout ce train s'appelle Aileway, qui eſt controlleur, et je croy le ſeul bon officier que nous y ayons. Il ſera auſſy neceſſaire que Votre Majeſté mande quel nombre de canon elle veut qu'on mene à l'armée, puiſque je voy par quelques lettres que Votre Majeſté pourroit venir ſe mettre à la tête de ſon armée. Il me ſemble qu'il ſeroit neceſſaire qu'on mena plus de canon en campagne. Glaum m'avoit parlé d'un equipage d'artillerye que Votre Majeſté a en Hollande, qu'elle a fait faire pour elle, où il y a meme quelques hawitzers, lequel ſeroit fort util icy. Cela eſt contenu dans le memoire que j'ay fait avec Glaum avant qu'il partit d'icy.

J'auray ſoin de ne point laiſſer manquer de poudre. Mais comme ce canon peut être d'un calibre qui n'a pas tout-a-fait rapport à celuy de la Tour, il ſera neceſſaire que Votre Majeſté donne ordre aus dits officiers de la Tour de s'en pourvoir. Il eſt vray que ceux qui y ſont entendent fort peu ces choſes la, pas même à examiner les fuſils que les ouvriers leur delivre tous les jours, qui ſont fort mal faits, mal montez, et ont de mechants reſſorts.

Le colonel Cambon m'a montré une lettre de Londres, par laquelle l'on voit que M. Herbort n'eſt pas content de luy. Cela eſt venu d'une lettre de change que Cambon avoit tirée de M. Herbort à Dundalk de huit cent guinées, qu'il lui donna la pour faire rendre à Londres à ſon agent, pour payer les habits de ſon regiment. Les marchands qui avoient porté le lettre de change chez les gens de M. Herbort ne l'ayant pas voulu acquitter firent leur proteſt. Cela a tellement offenſé M. Herbort qu'il en a voulu mal à toutes les troupes Françoiſes icy, et qu'il a dit que le regiment de Cambon n'etoit pas de 150 hommes. Je puis aſſeurer Votre Majeſté, que quoy qu'il en ſoit mort beaucoup depuis qu'ils ſont entrez dans leur quartier d'hyver, qu'il en reſtoit encore plus de 460 en ſanté, et depuis huit jours

il

il luy eſt arrivé un fort bonne recreüe de Londres de 70 hommes qui ont été levez du coſté de la Suiſſe.

Il y auroit beaucoup à dire ſur le ſujet de M. Herbort. Je croy qu'il eſt connu en Angleterre comme il eſt icy preſentement ſur le ſujet de l'intereſt, et je ne puis aſſez exagerer le prejudice que cela a apporté au ſervice de Votre Majeſté, de ce qu'il n'a jamais voulu faire le deconte aux colonels et capitaines des regiments. Je croy qu'il ſeroit neceſſaire pour le ſervice de Votre Majeſté, qu'elle envoya icy un ordre aux commis de la treſorerye qu'il a laiſſez de faire ce déconte ; car quand on parle aux officiers d'avancer quelque choſe à leur compagnie lorſque l'argent manque, ils diſent que comme on ne leur a point fait de déconte depuis qu'ils ſont dans ce royaume, ils n'ont pas un ſol pour ſubſiſter eux mêmes. On etoit dans une grande diſette d'argent, quand depuis dix jours les trente mille livres ſterlings ſont arrivez, leſquels j'ay fait diſtribuer à toutes les troupes de l'armée ſur bon compte. Je ſupplie Votre Majeſté que cette article de M. Herbort ne ſoit leu que par elle.

Je ſuis fort aiſe d'apprendre que Votre Majeſté a fait faire un traitté avec Pereyra, pour les vivres, et pour les chariots pour les porter avec l'armée, qui eſt la choſe le plus eſſentielle. C'eſt à Pereyra à voir que ces chariots et charettes ne ſoient pas ſi pezantes comme on les fait à Londres, et d'avoir de bons chartiers qui ſachent fourager.

J'ay écrit ſouvent aux officiers de la Tour, et à M. Bertie le treſorier, de nous envoyer de l'argent ; car il en eſt deu beaucoup. Et j'ay entretenu icy le train par des emprunts que j'ay faits, en tirant des lettres de change ſur la Tour, qui n'ont point pu être aquittées. Je ſupplie tres humblement Votre Majeſté d'ordonner qu'on donne de l'argent à M. Bertie afin qu'on les puiſſe aquitter, et que nous ne dependions point de M. Herbort, puiſque la charge de treſorier de l'artillerye n'a jamais dépendu ny en Angleterre ny icy du treſorier de l'armée.

Tranſlation.

Tranſlation.

Liſburne, 10th Feb. 1690.

THERE is an article on the diſpatch of the Iriſh committee, ordering the Iniſkilling and Londonderry regiments to be paid in the ſame way with the Engliſh regiments. Since this is Your Majeſty's intention, it will be neceſſary that they put themſelves upon a better footing; for hitherto theſe troops have been upon the footing of a licence both to rob and ſteal; which was the reaſon why colonel Ruſſel could not carry with him all the Iniſkilling troops whom I had ordered away to ſeize and maintain the poſt of Sligo.

Lieutenant-colonel Roſs, of Wynn's dragoons, is going to England for ſaddles and bridles to put the regiment in order. That regiment, as well as all that cavalry, and the Iniſkilling dragoons, are very ill mounted, and many of the officers and ſoldiers ill made. But ſince Your Majeſty does them ſo particular a favour, as to pay them like troops raiſed in England, they ſhould be obliged to have officers and ſoldiers better made. Your Majeſty, if you pleaſe, will order Mr. Harbord to give money to colonel Roſs, that he may be enabled to buy the things that are neceſſary, and come ſoon back.

I have reſtrained myſelf as far as was poſſible from giving leave of abſence. For all the officers of this army have a great deſire to go to England.

My lord Liſburne goes away immediately, upon the leave he has obtained by my lord Shrewſbury's letter. I told him, as Your Majeſty ordered, that he might keep the good men whom he had lately raiſed in this country, but that we did not want theſe miſerable Engliſh or Iriſh boys with which they larded their regiments when they came here.

There is a clergyman come here who ſays he has got a commiſſion in England to be chaplain to colonel Ruſſel's regiment. I had filled the vacancy two months

months ago with another chaplain. Your Majeſty will order me what to do in this matter. The clergy of this country are people that are little attached to their pariſhes.

Your Majeſty will give me leave to remind you with regard to the train of artillery, to ſend a good officer in the place of Glaum who is dead. The perſon who governs all that train at preſent is Halloway the comptroller of it, and I believe the only good officer we have. It will be alſo neceſſary that Your Majeſty ſend me word what number of cannon you want to be brought to the army, ſince I ſee by ſome letters, that Your Majeſty may come to put yourſelf at the head of your army. It appears neceſſary to bring more cannon into the field. Glaum ſpoke to me of an equipage of artillery which Your Majeſty had in Holland, made for yourſelf, in which are ſome field pieces which would be very uſeful here. This is contained in a memorial which I made up with Glaum before he left this.

I ſhall take care there ſhall be no want of powder. But as this cannon may be of a bore which does not agree with that of the Tower, it will be neceſſary that Your Majeſty give orders to the officers of the Tower, to make proviſion accordingly. It is true the people who are there underſtand theſe things very little, even the examination of the muſkets which the workmen deliver them every day, which are ill made, ill mounted, and have bad locks.

Colonel Cambon ſhowed me a letter from London, by which it appears that Mr. Harbord is ill pleaſed with him. The cauſe of this is a bill of exchange for 800 guineas which Cambon had got from Mr. Harbord for money payable at London, to Cambon's agent, for paying the cloaths of his regiment. The merchants who carried the bill to Mr. Harbord's people, upon their not paying it, took a proteſt. This has ſo much offended Mr. Harbord, that he has taken an ill-will at all the French troops here, and has ſaid that the regiment of Cambon had not 150 men. I can aſſure Your Majeſty,

Majeſty, that though many of them have died ſince they came into winter quarters, there ſtill remained 460 of them in health, and within theſe eight days there came from London a good recruit of 70 men who had been levied in Switzerland.

There would be much to ſay upon the ſubject of Mr. Harbord. I believe he is known in England as well as here to be intereſted. And I cannot exaggerate how much prejudice Your Majeſty's ſervice has received from his not paying the arrears to the colonels and captains. I believe it would be neceſſary for Your Majeſty's ſervice that you give an order to the commiſſaries of the treaſury whom he left here, to pay theſe arrears. For when the officers are ſpoke to, to advance any thing to their companies when there is a want of money, they ſay, that as no arrears have been paid them ſince they came into this kingdom, they have not a penny to ſubſiſt themſelves. There was a great want of money when, ten days ago, 30,000l. came, which I fairly diſtributed among all the troops in the army. I beg Your Majeſty that no one but yourſelf may read this article about Mr. Harbord.

I am glad to learn that Your Majeſty has made a contract with Pereira for the proviſions and waggons to carry them with the army, which is the moſt eſſential thing. It lies at Pereira to take care that they be not as heavy as thoſe made at London, and to get good carters who underſtand foraging.

I have written often to the officers of the Tower, and to Mr. Bertie the treaſurer, to ſend us money; for there is much due. And I have ſupported the train by money I have borrowed upon bills of exchange upon the Tower, which have not been paid. I humbly entreat Your Majeſty to order money to be given to Mr. Bertie, in order that he may be able to diſcharge them, and that we may not depend upon Mr. Harbord, ſince the office of treaſurer of artillery has never depended either in England, or here, upon that of the army.

Duke

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Want of arms.

De Dromore, le 14e Fevrier, 1690.

J'AY écrit ſouvent à la Tour pour faire de meilleurs armes, et de nous en envoyer inceſſamment. Car on n'a jamais veu une armée avoir eu ſi peu de ſoin de conſerver leurs armes. Mais il ſera neceſſaire que Votre Majeſté donne des ordres exprez pour que l'on delivre de l'argent à M. Bertie. Car j'ay emprunté icy tout ce que j'ay pu trouver d'argent pour faire ſubſiſter l'artillerye.

Dromore, 14th February, 1690.

I HAVE written often to the Tower to make better arms, and to ſend them immediately. For no body ever ſaw an army take ſo little care of preſerving their arms. But it will be neceſſary for Your Majeſty to give expreſs orders for the delivery of money to Mr. Bertie. For I have borrowed all the money that I could for the ſubſiſtence of the artillery.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Want of money.

De Liſburne, le 3me Mars, 1690.

PAR mes derniers memoires Votre Majeſté voit ce que le luy ay mandé ſur le manquement d'argent. La neceſſité m'oblige encore d'avantage à luy repreſenter, que je voys avec regret que ſes troupes au lieu de ſe racommoder ſe ruinent manque d'argent, et que Votre Majeſté venant icy n'aura pas la ſatisfaction de les voir rétablis comme je le ſouhaîterois. Les lettres de Londre etant venue hier par Ecoſſe, je ne voy rien dans les miennes qui me faſſe eſperer que nous en ayons ſi-tôt; et ayant demandé à un des treſoriers de M. Herbord, ſi il ne luy avoit pas écrit qu'on eut envoyé de l'argent à Cheſter, il m'a dit que non. Si M. Herbord n'en donne pas auſſy pour les recreües à la cavalerye, et à l'infan-

terye, il eſt à craindre que les troupes ne ſe mettront pas en bon êtat. Car les petites ſommes d'argent que nous tirons des doüannes de temps en temps n'eſt pas ſuffiſant pour en donner aux ſoldats. Les capitaines et les officiers ſubalternes en prennent pour eux memes, étant obligez d'en vivre auſſy, puiſque depuis ſept mois ils n'ont point receü de paye; et ſi on ne leur paye pas leur déconte de bonne heure, ils n'auront pas le temps de s'acheter quelques chevaux de charette ou de bas pour faire la campagne.

Mon devoir m'oblige d'en dire autant à Votre Majeſté ſur le ſujet de l'artillerye. L'argent que j'ay emprunté icy pour la faire ſubſiſter n'a point été acquitté ſur mes lettres de change que j'ay envoyé à la Tour. J'écris à ſieur Henry Goodrick d'en parler à Votre Majeſté de luy propoſer ce qui s'eſt pratique ſouvent, que l'on donne qulqu' aſſignation ſur un fond, quoy que les payements ne ſe font que de quelque mois aprés, les ouvriers ne laiſſent pas pour cela de trouver du credit pour ſubſiſter. J'ay mandé à mon homme d'affaires d'offrir mille ou 1200 l. ſterling pour étre avancez aux arquebuſiers. Et s'il arrivoit qu'ils n'euſſent point d'armes faites, comme je l'apprehende ainſy que je voy par la lettre de Votre Majeſté, ne pourroit elle pas ordonner qu'on tira trois ou 4000 fuſils d'Amſterdam et d'Utrecht? car Votre Majeſté ne peut pas faire grand fond ſur les piques. Elles etoient fort vieilles, et ſe ſont achevées de pourrir pendant les pluyes de la campagne paſſée. Pour les troupes d'Iniſkilling, ils ne s'en peuvent pas ſervir. Ils en diſent de meme des mouſquetts.

Liſburne, 3d March, 1690.

BY my laſt memorials Your Majeſty ſees what I told you of the want of money. Neceſſity obliges me to repreſent to you again, that I ſee with regret that the troops, in place of recovering, are ruined for want of money, and that when Your Majeſty comes here you will not have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing them re-

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed as I would wiſh. The letters from London being come yeſterday through Scotland, I ſee nothing in mine which can make me hope for money ſoon; and having aſked one of Mr. Harbord's treaſurers, if Mr. Harbord had not wrote him that there was money ſent to Cheſter, he told me he had not. If Mr. Harbord does not give money to recruit the cavalry and the infantry, it is to be feared that the troops will not be in a good condition. For the ſmall ſums which we draw from the cuſtomhouſes from time to time are not ſufficient to give the ſoldiers. The captains and the ſubaltern officers take it to themſelves, being obliged to live upon it, ſince they have received no pay for ſeven months. And if their arrears are not paid them ſoon, they will not have time to buy cart or bas horſes for the campaign.

My duty obliges me to ſay as much to Your Majeſty upon the ſubject of the artillery. The money which I borrowed here to ſubſiſt it, has not been paid upon my bills of exchange which I ſent to the Tower. I wrote to ſir Henry Goodrick to ſpeak of it to Your Majeſty, and to propoſe, what is often practiſed, to give ſome aſſignation upon a fund, although the payments are not made for ſome months after, notwithſtanding which the workmen find credit upon that account for their ſubſiſtence. I wrote to my men of buſineſs, to offer 1000l. or 1200l. of advance to the gunſmiths. And if it happens that they have no arms ready made, which I am apprehenſive of by your letters, could not Your Majeſty order 3000 or 4000 fuſees to be drawn from Amſterdam and Utrecht? for Your Majeſty cannot truſt to the pikes. They were very old, and became more rotten during the rains of laſt campaign. As for the Iniſkilling troops, they cannot uſe theirs at all, and they ſay as much of their muſkets.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.——All things out of order.——Schomberg's generous offer.

De Lisburne, le 7e Mars, 1690.

COMME la saison avance, et que Votre Majesté pourroit arriver icy et ne pas trouver toutes choses en etat, j'aurois un extreme regret, si quelque chose pouvoit retarder ses desseins ; et je croy devoir luy dire ce que j'ay trouvé par experience depuis que je suis party de Londres, que l'on ne peut point compter juste sur les officiers de l'armée qu'on employe, soit dans les troupes, dans les vivres, ou dans l'artillerye. Et comme je suis responsable encore plus particulierement de la derniere, je trouve qu'en ce que s'y est fait depuis quelques années on y a beaucoup trompé. Je ne mets point dans ce rang la les vieux mousquets, n'y les vieilles piques, qui etoient pourries ; mais même ce qui a été fait depuis peu d'années en ça. Le canon a été mal fondu comme cela se voit par les pieces qui ont crevé au siege de Carrickfergus, ou l'on voit la mechante composition du métail. Il ne nous en reste qu'un. J'ay écrit a la Tour qu'on nous envoye des pieces de 18 et de 24. Les officiers de la Tour sont si longs à preparer les choses, je crains qu'ils n'arriveront pas devant Votre Majesté. Si j'avois seulement quatre demy canons presentement, j'assiegerois Charlemont, ou on ne peut pas laisser les ennemys derriere, quand Votre Majesté s'avancera avec son armée sans en être beaucoup incommodé. Avant que de finir l'article de l'artillerye, il faut redire un mot à Votre Majesté sur le manque d'argent qu'il y a à la Tour, afin qu'elle ordonné aux treseriers qu'ils en delivre au sieur Bertie, tresorier de la Tour. Lequel etant pourveu de quelque argent il puisse payer les choses necessaires que Votre Majesté a ordonne, et pour celles que j'ay ecrit et les faire partir incessement, parmy lesquels sont les tentes de la cavallerye et de l'infanterye, dont on a precisement besoin.

beſoin. Et comme les vaiſſeux ont un grand tour à faire, leur arrivé eſt uncertain, et leur manquement retarderoit la marche de Votre Majeſté. C'eſt pourquoy je la ſupplie trés humblement d'ordonner qu'on donne un convoy aux vaiſſeaux de la Tour qui ſeront chargez, afin qu'ils puiſſent partir inceſſement.

Le Sr. Robiſſon eſt arrivée icy hier au ſoir, je l'ai fort entretenu ſur les moyens de fournir dez a preſent le pain de munition à toutes les troupes, et d'autant plus qu'il n'y a point d'argent pour les payer. En leur faiſant fournir du pain et de fromage il faut qu'ils ayent patience. Mais à l'égard des officiers j'en ſuis fort en peine. S'il y avoit de l'argent pour faire leur déconte, Votre Majeſté leur donnera moyens de ſe preparer pour la campagne ; car ils manque de tout.

Je ne devrois pas une meler de ſi loin d'ou provient le manquement de l'argent, et je m'ettone que parmy de gens qui en on tant a Londres, il ne s'en trouvent point qui offrent d'en preter à Votre Majeſté. Je n'oſerois me vanter de rien ; mais ſi j'avois entre mes mains les cent mille livres ſterling que Votre Majeſté m'a fait la grace de me donner, je les ferois delivrer à celui qu'elle voudroit pour le payement de ſon armée.

Liſburn, 7th March, 1690.

AS the ſeaſon advances, and Your Majeſty may arrive here without finding every thing in order, I ſhould be extremely ſorry if any thing retarded your deſigns. And I think I ought to tell you that I have found by experience ſince I left London, that there is no counting with certainty upon the officers employed, either in the troops, the proviſions or the artillery. And as I am reſponſible more particularly for the laſt, I find that for ſome years paſt there has been much roguery in it. I do not put in this rank the old muſkets and old pikes, which were rotten ; but what has been made within theſe few years. The cannon was ill caſt, as may be obſerved by the pieces which burſt at the ſiege of Carrickfergus, in which one may ſee the bad

compoſition of the metal. There is only one of them left. I wrote to to the Tower to ſend us pieces of eighteen and twenty-four pounds weight. The officers of the Tower are ſo long in preparing things, that I am afraid they will not arrive before Your Majeſty. If I had only four demi-cannons at preſent, I would beſiege Charlemont, where we cannot leave the enemy behind, when Your Majeſty advances with your army, without being put to much inconveniency. Without leaving the article of the artillery, I muſt repeat a word to Your Majeſty upon the want of money in the Tower, with a view that Your Majeſty may order the treaſurers to deliver it to Mr. Bertie, the treaſurer of the Tower. When he has got money, he may pay the neceſſary things which Your Majeſty has ordered, and thoſe which I wrote of, and make them ſet off inſtantly; among which are the tents of the cavalry and infantry, of which there is immediate need. As the veſſels have a great tour to make, their arrival is uncertain, and their failure would retard Your Majeſty's march. On this account, I humbly beg you to give orders for a convoy to the veſſels of the Tower loaded with theſe things, that they may ſail immediately.

Mr. Robinſon came here yeſterday in the evening. I have talked with him much upon the means of furniſhing from henceforth ammunition bread for all the troops; and the more ſo, becauſe there is no money to pay them. When they get bread and cheeſe they muſt have patience. But with regard to the officers, I am much in pain, If there was money to pay their arrears, Your Majeſty would give them the means of preparing for the campaign; for they want every thing.

I ought not at this diſtance to enter into the queſtion, whence ariſes this want of money, and I am aſtoniſhed, that amongſt thoſe who have ſo much at London, there ſhould be found none who offer to lend it to Your Majeſty. I dare not boaſt of any thing; but if I had in my hands the 100,000*l.* which Your Majeſty did me the favour

favour to give me, I would deliver it to whoever you pleaſe for the payment of your army.

Want of money and cannon.

De Liſburn, le 22 Mars, 1689.

CETTE dépeche va par le ſieur Hamilton, lequel M. Herbort employe dans la treſorerye. Il dit que c'eſt pour preſſer M. Herbort de ſonger à envoyer promptement de l'argent. Je croy qu'il a quelque affaire particuliere, mais le pretexte qu'il prend ne laiſſe pas d'être fort neceſſaire ; car apres tout ce que j'ay mandé a V. M. de la grande neceſſité ou les troupes ſont faute d'argent. Je n'ay plus rien à ajouter ſeulement que j'ay un extreme regret de voir le prejudice que cela fera au ſervice de V. M. et les accidents qui nous peuvent arriver icy, de laiſſer des troupes ſi long-temps ſans argent, ſi proches d'un ennemy qui eſt ſi plein d'intrigue, et dans un pays ruiné, où le ſoldat ne trouve rien à ſubſiſter chez ſon hoſte, dont la pluſpart n'a rien pour faire ſubſiſter ſa famille. Ce manquement d'argent eſt cauſe que je remets à aſſieger Charlemont ; quoyque nous n'ayons que deux pieces de canon de 18, le reſte étant crevé, etant de fort méchant métail, au ſiege de Carrickfergus. J'en ay écrit ſouvent aux officiers de la Tour, afin qu'ils ſuppliaſſent Votre Majeſté, d'or donner, qu'il y eut un convoy pour nous mener d'autre canon et des bombes icy, mais ils s'excuſent par toutes les lettres, qu'ils n'ont point d'argent, pas mémes ſeulement pour en avancer aux arquebuſiers, pour continuer à faire travailler aux fuzils que je leur ay ordonné.

En ecrivant cecy, j'ay receu une lettre de Carrickfergus, par laquelle on me mande qu'il eſt arrive trois vaiſſeaux chargez de vivres, et un où il y a quelque poudre et bombes. Il y a ſix mois qu'ils ſont chargez, et arrivent preſentement.

Le Duc de Wirtenberg eſt venü de ſon quartier icy. Il eſt auſſi en peine de ce qu'il arrive tous les jours des

vaiſſeaux de Highlake, et que l'argent qui eſt deſtiné pour la troupes qu'il commande ne vient point. Il me paroiſt un eſprit fort doux, patient, et qui a envie de bien faire.

Tranſlation.

Liſburn, 22d March, 1689.

THIS diſpatch goes by Mr. Hamilton, whom Mr. Harbord employs in the treaſury. He ſays he goes to preſs Mr. Harbord to think of ſending money immediately. I believe he has buſineſs of his own, but the pretence which he uſes is not for that the leſs neceſſary; for after all that, I have told Your Majeſty of the great neceſſity of the troops for want of money. I have nothing to add, but that I have an extreme regret to ſee the prejudice which that will do to Your Majeſty's ſervice, and the accidents which may happen here from leaving the troops ſo long time without money, ſo near an enemy who is full of intrigue, and in a ruined country, where the ſoldiers find nothing to ſubſiſt upon in the houſes of their landlords, of whom the greateſt part have no ſubſiſtence for their families. This want of money is the reaſon why I put off the ſiege of Charlemont. We have only two pieces of cannon of eighteen pounds, the reſt having burſt, becauſe they were of very bad metal, at the ſiege of Carrickfergus. I have written often to the officers of the Tower, that they might entreat Your Majeſty to order a convoy to bring other cannon and bombs here: but they excuſe themſelves in all their letters, that they have no money, not even to advance to the gunſmiths for their continuing to work at the fuſees which I ordered.

Whilſt I am writing this, I have received a letter from Carrickfergus, by which I have information of the arrival of three veſſels loaded with proviſions, and in one of which there is ſome powder and bombs. It is ſix months ſince they were loaded, and they arrive only now.

The

The Duke of Wirtenberg is come here from his quarters. He is alſo in pain, becauſe every day veſſels arrive from Highlake, and no money for the troops which he commands. He appears to me of a ſpirit gentle, patient, and deſirous of doing well.

The following letter was given me by my ingenious friend Doctor Percy.

Letter written ſoon after the Revolution by Daniel Finch, earl of Nottingham. The Spaniſh Friar mentioned below was acted in June 1689. *Court Scandal.*

I AM loth to ſend blank paper by a carrier, but am rather willing to ſend ſome of the tattle of the town than nothing at all, which will at leaſt ſerve for an hour's chat, and then convert the ſcrawl to its proper uſe.

The only day Her Majeſty gave herſelf the diverſion of a play, and that on which ſhe deſigned to ſee another, has furniſhed the town with diſcourſe for near a month. The choice of the play was the Spaniſh Fryar, the only play forbid by the late k——. Some unhappy expreſſions, among which theſe that follow, put her in ſome diſorder, and forced her to hold up her fan, and often look behind her and call for her palatine, and hood, and any thing ſhe could next think of, while thoſe who were in the pit before her turned their heads over their ſhoulders, and all in general directed their looks towards her, whenever their fancy led them to make application of what was ſaid. In one place, where the queen of Arragon is going to church in proceſſion, 'tis ſaid by a ſpectator, Very good, ſhe uſurps the throne, keeps the old king in priſon, and at the ſame time is praying for a bleſſing on her army.—And when ſaid, That 'tis obſerved at court who weeps, and who wears black for good king Sancho's death; 'tis ſaid, Who is that, that can flatter a court like this?

this? Can I ſooth tyranny, ſeem pleas'd to ſee my royal maſter murthered; his crown uſurped; a diſtaff in the throne: and what title has this queen but lawleſs force; and force muſt pull her down.—Twenty more things are ſaid, which may be wreſted to what they were never deſigned; but however the obſervations then made, furniſhed the town with talk, till ſomething elſe happened which gave as much occaſion of diſcourſe; for another play being ordered to be acted, the q—— came not, being taken up with other diverſion. She dined at Mrs. Graden's, the famous woman in the Hall, that ſells fine ribbands and head-dreſſes; from thence ſhe went to the Jew's that ſells Indian things, to Mrs. Ferguſon's, De Vetts, Mrs. Harriſon's, and other Indian houſe; but not to Mrs. Potter's, tho' in her way, which cauſed Mrs. Potter to ſay, that ſhe might as well have hoped for that honour as others, conſidering that the whole deſign of bringing the queen and king was managed at her houſe, and the conſultations held there; ſo that ſhe might as well have thrown away a little money in raffling there, as well as at the other houſes; but it ſeems that my lord Devonſhire has got Mrs. Potter to be laundreſs; ſhe has not much countenance of the queen, her daughter ſtill keeping the Indian houſe her mother had. The ſame day the queen went to one Mrs. Wiſe's, a famous woman for telling fortunes, but could not prevail with her to tell any thing, though to others ſhe has been very true, and has foretold that king James ſhall come in again, and the duke of Norfolk ſhall loſe his head: the laſt I ſuppoſe will naturally be the conſequence of the firſt. Theſe things, however innocent in themſelves, have paſſed the cenſure of the town. And beſides a private reprimand given, the king gave one in public, ſaying to the queen that he heard ſhe dined at a bawdy-houſe, and deſired the next time ſhe went he might go too. She ſaid ſhe had done nothing but what the late queen had done. He aſked her, if ſhe meant to make her her example. More was ſaid on this occaſion than

ever

ever was known before, but it was borne with all the submission of a good wife, who leaves all to the direction of the k——, and diverts herself with walking six or seven miles a day, and looking after her buildings, making of fringes, and such like innocent things; and does not meddle in government, though she has better title to do it than the late queen had.

In King William's box there are two letters to the king concerning the dissolution of the first parliament; one on the tory and the other on the whig side. The first is in the hand writing of sir John Trevor; there is reason to believe the other was written by Mr. Wharton, afterwards duke of Wharton.

THE matter wherein Your Majesty hath been pleased to command my weak opinion, doth in my apprehension consist of two points. First, whether it be most for Your Majesty's interest to hold on this parliament; and if so, to what purposes? Secondly; If Your Majesty, in your great wisdom, shall think it necessary to dissolve this parliament, then what ways and methods are to be taken to get a good parliament, and to make it useful to your establishment? &c.

As to the first part of t e first question, whether it be most for Your Majesty's interest to hold on this parliament? I am with all humble submission of opinion, that Your Majesty's best course is to hold on this parliament for a time, and to try them for a speedy and certain supply, that may answer and defray the charge of the government, during such time as will be necessary to call and prepare for a new parliament, which will take up seven weeks at least.

The continuance of this parliament can be of no other use to Your Majesty but to gain such a supply, for all other benefits and expectations from this parliament are lost and gone: the authority of the chair, the awe and reverence to order, and the due method

of

of debates being irrecoverably loſt by the diſorder and tumultuouſneſs of the Houſe; the managers having ſmall credit, the rancour and rage between the oppoſite factions being irreconcileable, the nation in general grown weary of them, and expecting a new parliament. The Diſſenters being now under ſome apprehenſions of Your Majeſty, and Your Majeſty having undeniable reaſons and proofs to ſuſpect and diſtruſt them, the confidence on both ſides is grown leſs: the Church party diſcouraged and almoſt in deſpair: they will never agree to unite your ſubjects by an Act of Indemnity; but they may agree to tear away your miniſters, which is a ſafe method (under colour of redreſſing grievances) to arraign and expoſe your government to your people and the world, which methods have heretofore produced very dangerous conſequences, eſpecially in the beginning of a new reign, all which miſchiefs a new parliament will diſappoint, heal and mend; and lay a ſurer foundation for Your Majeſty's happineſs than can be expected from this preſent parliament; therefore I do humbly conclude, that the ſitting on of this parliament can be of no other good uſe to Your Majeſty (but quite contrary) unleſs to grant to Your Majeſty a ſpeedy and certain ſupply.

To gain ſuch a ſupply will be the next conſideration. The ſupply demanded muſt be tenderly handled: it muſt be reaſonable and proportionable to ſuch preſent uſe and occaſion as Your Majeſty ſhall declare you have for ſuch ſupply, otherwiſe it will give the Diſſenters a jealouſy; and Your Majeſty to amuſe them had better aſk leſs than too much, and thereby leave them ſome confidence, that you ſtill depend upon them.

Such ſupply muſt be alſo certain, and be made a fund for credit, and not uncertain or unuſual; for ſuch projects will take up much time in debates, more time in drawing and framing a bill (wherein your council are not very ſkilful) and may meet with captious obſtructions in paſſing both Houſes, which waſte of time is (as I humbly conceive) inconſiſtent with Your Majeſty's preſſing occaſions; for by ſuch loſs of time Your Majeſty

Majesty will become more necessitous, and the Dissenters will probably take advantage thereof, and will grow into such power (wherein they are indefatigable, and never to be satisfied) that I fear it will be very difficult for Your Majesty to extricate yourself out of their hands, &c.

The supply follows next to be considered of. I humbly propose for the quantity and quality of such a supply, a concurrent assessment for six months, after the rate of seventy thousand pounds a month, which with Your Majesty's growing revenue, may (I hope) be sufficient to answer the charge of the government during the interval of parliament.

The way to effect this supply, is to order your managers to consider the absolute necessity Your Majesty lies under to support the government and them; and to press them hard in it; wherein great care must be taken, not to give them any new suspicion of imagining Your Majesty to part with this parliament, which they know is to part with themselves; and to that purpose Your Majesty may intimate to them, that at the highest computation, the Two Shillings bill will not exceed twelve hundred thousand pounds. That very near two thirds thereof is already appropriated. That Your Majesty cannot have credit upon the remainder thereof till the last quarter, which will not be till nine months hence. That there remains due to Your Majesty (according to this computation) eight hundred thousand pounds, to make up the two millions promised to Your Majesty, whereof this six months assessment will answer four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, and Your Majesty may bid them take their own time, and let them employ themselves to find out new methods and ways for the raising the other remaining four hundred thousand pounds, which Your Majesty must also earnestly insist to be carried on and dispatched, the better to cover your intentions. I conceive that such an assessment may go easily into the house, if the managers will espouse it heartily, this calculation

calculation having already been opened to the houſe, and the ſix months aſſeſſment having been likewiſe moved for by Foley and ſir Lewſon Gore, and there are very cogent reaſons to be given for this preſent ſupply, more proper for the managers to give, as having more of Your Majeſty's urgent neceſſities in their knowledge than any other, and indeed this muſt be wholly managed by them to avoid jealouſy; and the church party to make a faint oppoſiton. This ſupply may be begun on Wedneſday next, or if the call of the houſe ſhould be inſiſted on, then the Wedneſday after, and may be finiſhed in a week. But if Your Majeſty cannot prevail for ſuch a ſpeedy and certain ſupply, Your Majeſty, in my poor judgment, will hazard much by the continuance of the parliament, and loſe that time in this, (without any ſufficient ſupply) which would be better beſtowed on calling a new parliament, which, under God, I conceive to be the only means to anſwer all your ends, and to ſupport and ſecure your throne and royal authority, and to reconcile and unite your divided and diſtracted ſubjects. If Your Majeſty ſhould be unſucceſsful in this aſſeſſment, which I hope you will not, I could wiſh Your Majeſty had a clauſe of credit by a ſhort bill upon the exciſe, which was very ſtrangely neglected, when the revenue bill was paſſing, for I took it for granted that ſuch a clauſe was to be; for both Mr. Garraway and ſir Robert Howard declared it: but I am afraid that the opinion remains ſtill with ſome people, that they are not ſafe in their power and greatneſs, unleſs Your Majeſty depend upon them. But had a bill of aſſeſſment paſſed inſtead of the Two Shilling bill, Your Majeſty had been above all theſe difficulties, and out of the hands of theſe men; and it is plain that this opinion has obſtructed Your Majeſty's eſtabliſhment, &c. But ſuppoſe, (which God forbid) that the houſe ſhould neglect or delay this ſo reaſonable and neceſſary a ſupply, and ſpend their time in ſpecious and frivolous inquiries into projects and methods to raiſe money, under pretence of ſaving their land, and fall into

If your Majeſty ſucceeds, the clauſe for credit on the exciſe may eaſily and properly be inſerted in the ſupply bill.

into heat, and run upon your miniſters for miſmanagement, (the lords having provided ſome materials for them) and leave Your Majeſty's Engliſh army unpaid, (which occaſions great clamours and heart-burning) and the Iriſh affairs in a languiſhing condition, which muſt cauſe great confuſion in Your Majeſty's affairs at home, and diſcredit abroad, and will encourage your enemies: What is then to be done? I do with all humble ſubmiſſion to your Majeſty's great wiſdom and experience, and with the deepeſt ſincerity of my ſoul conceive, that Your Majeſty has no other courſe nor remedy under heaven, unleſs you will abſolutely throw yourſelf and your crown upon the diſſenters, but immediately as ſoon as Your Majeſty has made this laſt tryal in all gentle manner, without farther loſs of time to diſſolve this and call a new parliament; and in order thereunto, to take the firſt meaſures to maintain and keep the peace of the kingdom, and to provide for the ſubſiſtance of the government during the interval of parliament, and to make ſuch other wiſe methods, whereby the church party may be ſo encouraged, and yet the diſſenters be aſſured of their indulgence and your favour. But ſuch a ſcheme muſt firſt attend Your Majeſty's reſolution in that point, and then my humble thoughts how ſuch an alteration may be beſt brought about and effected, ſhall be ready in two or three days time for Your Majeſty's peruſal. Humbly craving Your Majeſty's gracious and favourable conſtruction of my great weakneſs, but good intentions, herein diſcloſed.

Anonymous letter to King William, believed to be written by Mr. afterwards duke of Wharton.——Reproaches of the King's ingratitude to the Whigs.

SIR, 25 December, 1689.

BEING a proteſtant, a true Engliſhman, and one that wiſhes to ſee Your Majeſty happy and glorious, as a reward for the protection you gave to our religion and laws, in driving out a tyrant who endeavoured

voured to deſtroy both, I think it my duty to lay before you the deſperate condition you are brought into, by the flatterers, knaves, and villains, you have the misfortune to employ.

You will forgive my ſpeaking plainly, ſince both your own ſtate, and the nation's require it; for if you do not, without delay, wholly change your conduct, you are inevitably loſt and undone.

Many thouſands of your ableſt ſeamen, are either dead, or taken priſoners, and the reſt ſo enraged by their ill uſage, that it will be difficult to perſuade them to ſerve you next yeare.

Your army, your very guards, laſt raiſed, are much diſaffected, and will help to ruin you on the firſt occaſion.

That parliament, which ſett the crowne uppon your head, is grown cold, and alienated in their affections from you.

Scotland is ſo far diſcontented, that you muſt expect a warr thence next yeare.

You have loſt the hearts of great part of your people.

You have an expenſive and dangerous warr upon your hands, and no revenue ſettled nor money to carry it on.

And what is yet worſe, your court and your councils, are filled and guided by ſuch men as moſt of all ſeek your ruin.

Theſe ſad truths need no further demonſtration, they are viſible to the whole world, and I wiſh it were as eaſy to propoſe a remedy, as to know the diſeaſe.

It would be an endleſs worke to lay before you all the particular miſcarriages and misfortunes, yet will I mark out ſome of the principall, which ſeeme to have cauſed ſuch a change in your affaires.

Firſt, gathering together king James's army, which was diſperſed, and refuſing the ſervice of thoſe honeſt men, who came to you, merely out of principles and affection. Theſe would have been true to you, and might

might by this time, have made as good, if not better troups than the others, who knew nothing but living diſſolutely, and were hated over the nation; your good fortune, not their love, made thoſe old troops come in to you, and whenever that ſinks they will be as ready to forſake you. Thoſe were not your friends for your cauſe, but their own intereſt, ſeeing they had not a head would lead them againſt you, and that the whole people were for you. If any of them were diſcontented before, it happened from private reaſons, either that their ambition was not anſwered, or that they were like to be laid aſide; in ſhort they are corrupted in their principles, nothing can make them faithfull to you, and thoſe that remain of the old gang, will infect what men may be added to them.

In the next place, that many of king James's friends, and others, knowne enemies to the laws and government of England, were receaved into your councills, and promoted to places of greateſt truſt.

This was thought a fatallity upon your Majeſty, that you ſhould pick out the moſt obnoxious men of all England for your Miniſters, when the declaration you publiſhed at your coming over, was principally againſt evill miniſters, and that you made maleadminiſtration the chief ground to juſtify your taking arms; there is ſcarce one word againſt king James in your declarations, the evil miniſters are alone complained of, yet king James alone is puniſhed, and the ſame evil miniſters, or worſe, are employed, when you might have found honeſt men to have ſerved you in all places.

This hath been of unſpeakable prejudice to you, for it is viſible to all men, that the meaneſt people reaſone uppon it, that we muſt expect the ſame councils and the ſame government, from the ſame men. If you did not come over to ſupport our religion, and repaire the breaches that were made in our lawes and conſtitution, what can you urge but force, to juſtifye what you have done; which would deſtroy the glory of your

enterprize? Wee have made you king, as the greateſt returne we could make for ſo great a bleſſing, taking this to be your deſigne, and if you intend to governe like an honeſt man, what occaſion can you have for knaves to ſerve you? Can the ſame men who contrived and wrought our ruin, be fitt inſtruments for our ſalvations? or with what honor can you employ thoſe, againſt whom you drew your ſword?

The pretence of their being experienced, is very weak, their experience was only in doing ill, and our lawes have ſufficiently chalked out the functions of all civil miniſters att home, plain honeſt men of good underſtandings and principles, ſuitable to the ends you declared you came hither for, might have performed theſe duties, eſpecially ſince Your Majeſty's great wiſdom can well ſupply their defects in foreign affaires.

We have the charity to believe that this one falſe ſtep hath occaſioned all the reſt, and that (miſtaking your men) you have been miſled in your meaſures. We are willing to lay all faults at their doores, if Your Majeſty will not protect them, and take all upon yourſelf: This is a rock we hope you will avoid, for it hath been fatall to ſeveral kings of England.

What or who but ſuch men, could have made Your Majeſty ſuſpected to your people? Thoſe who would twelve months ſince have poured out their hearts blood to ſerve you, have ſacrificed their fortunes and all the hopes of their families, for your ſake, do now grudge every penny that is given for the neceſſary defence of your government, and repent their too forward zeal for a man who deſpiſes his beſt and only true friends, and miſtakes the right way to advance both his own and his people's intereſt and glory.

They ſtand amazed to ſee that your Majeſty, who came in upon one principle, ſhould, for the moſt part, employ men who have ever profeſſed another; that the glorious prince of Orange, who had rendered himſelf ſo renowned in the world, for his ſteadineſs to truth, juſtice,

juſtice, the laws and liberty of his country, and the Proteſtant religion, ſhould, when he became a king, think himſelf leſs obliged to purſue thoſe great and noble ends. The world was filled with your fame, when you landed in England; your friends adored you, and your enemies melted before you; there was nothing wanting to declare you, in the opinion of all mankind, to be the greateſt and moſt glorious prince that had appeared for many ages, but your own reſolution to give a finiſhing ſtroke to that character; IN THIS YOU FAILED, AND FELL FROM A HEIGHT WHICH VERY FEW MEN EVER REACHED BEFORE YOU.

I will ſay no more on this ſad ſubject, nor accuſe or name particular perſons, whoſe villainous councils have almoſt ruined you and us; leſt I may be thought an enemy to their perſons, rather than their councils: but, ſir, I beſeech you to call to mind what advice every man hath given you; and what paths thoſe you have been guided by, chalked out for you to walk in; the ſucceſs of their councils will tell you what opinion to have of them, whether they love you, and have ſerved you faithfully.

Could they intend your ſervice or ſafety, that adviſed your Majeſty to entertain king James's army, thereby making you liable to their great arrears, and putting your perſon and cauſe into the hands of the enemy. You have not much reaſon to think better of them by their behaviour ſince that time. And then, ſir, you may well remember, there did not five hundred men of all king James's troops come over to your ſide till he left them and ran away; and many of thoſe too forſook him, as rats do a falling houſe, ſeeing the ſouls of the nation againſt him, and that his own heart had failed him.

Can you think, ſir, that any of thoſe men who were raiſed by him out of the dirt, and have ſerved him in all intereſts, with all their hearts and might, could be ſuch villains as to leave him, but that they ſaw it abſolutely neceſſary, for their own ſafety, not love for

you? and doubtleſs they have ſo much honour, and gratitude, as to betray you to him whenever they can: no man of reaſon can think otherwiſe of them.

Can they be your friends, who have recommended perſons to moſt employments that hate you and your government, and can never be faithful to you; and where they could not put in all ſuch, as in ſome of the great commiſſions, yet have they prevailed for at leaſt one or two of their friends, who delay and entangle your buſineſs, and make it impoſſible for the reſt to ſerve you as they ought, let them deſign it ever ſo ſincerely? by the means of theſe men your enemies never want intelligence how all your buſineſs goes every where.

If your Majeſty will pleaſe to look into the charters of your commiſſioners of the treaſury, admiralty, cuſtoms, navy, and exciſe, you will find in every place ſome whom all England are amazed to ſee employed, and truſted by you; and believe you ſtrangely impoſed upon in having recommended to you men who are marked to the world for infamous and corrupt knaves on every change and turn of government.

But what ſurprizes yet more is, that many of them were confidents of king James's, and acted as much to carry on his intereſts and deſigns as it was poſſible for them; I wiſh they did not ſtill, or that they were not in a condition to render him greater ſervice, where they are, than they were capable of all their life-time before.

Theſe men poiſon and trouble your buſineſs in its firſt motion, and it can never go well while they have the direction.

Almoſt all their imps are as bad as they, and many in your own family of the ſame ſtamp. Some of thoſe who daily ſerve, wiſh every bit you eat, and drop you drink, may poiſon you. Though it ſeems very ſtrange, that any man ſhould have the imprudence to recommend ſuch perſons to your Majeſty, yet we ceaſe to wonder, when we ſee the corruption of your court and miniſ-

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ters. The whole town is filled with infamous ſtories, how they ſell all employments, more publickly and with ſhame, than in either of the two laſt reigns. Good God, Sir, what a diſhonour is this to your Majeſty! at this rate, in a little time, the baſeſt and vileſt of men, and the moſt inveterate of your enemies, will buy themſelves into all places about you; your miniſters will be deteſted and abhorred, your court deſerted by all honeſt men, and your government grow cheap and deſpiſed.

Can they be you friends, who laboured to replace king James upon the throne, and bring your Majeſty to terms with him, when he had no power to ſupport himſelf? Being not able to prevail for this in the Convention, they deſired a regency; that being rejected, they ſet up the pretended prince of Wales his title, and demanded evidence of his being ſuppoſititious; that being not thought neceſſary.

They would have veſted the royal power in the queen alone, without your Majeſty, thereby making the huſband ſubject to the wife, contrary to the law of God; but that being carried againſt them,

They would have made you both queen and king, giving the queen ſtill the preference; and that being refuſed,

They would have made your Majeſty king, and her queen, ſettling the royal power equal in both.

So that, Sir, they ſtruggled for every thing that could be deviſed againſt you, before they would agree to make you king alone; and it is remarkable, they never yielded any one point, until your friends did, as well by threats as arguments, oblige them to comply.

You ſee by this, Sir, how they ſet themſelves againſt you. In that great affair, there could not happen a greater occaſion to try who were your friends and enemies, and it was hoped you would make your judgment of men by it; for thoſe who would not have you king, were it in their power would have made you nothing.

I cannot forbear acquainting your Majeſty with what was ſaid at that time in the Houſe of Lords, by the earl of Nottingham, though perhaps you may have heard it already.

He confeſſed that England was much obliged to the prince of Orange, and that he was confident his highneſs propoſed nothing to himſelf but the glory of freeing us; and that he had too much honour, juſtice and religion, to aim at the crown. If that were expected, it was not in our power to give: the reward was too great in itſelf, and we ſhould pay too dearly for our liberty. For ſuppoſing the worſt, king James was an old man, and could not live long; and the prince of Wales was a child: ſo that the adminiſtration muſt fall into the hands of the nation, and they might eaſily reſtore the government to themſelves.

I ſhall obſerve upon theſe queſtions, that it will be found upon inquiry, that the perſons who eſpouſed them, in both Houſes, (though ſome have been preferred, and truſted by your Majeſty) have ſince oppoſed your Majeſty's ſervice and intereſt in every debate.

And that I think it next to an impoſſibility for any of them to be ſincerely in your intereſt, or that you ought in prudence to truſt them.

It was the beſt ſervice that could be done at that time for king James, for while they delayed your Majeſty's from being declared king, they both obſtructed your poſſeſſing yourſelf of Ireland, and making the neceſſary preparations for the war in due time.

While the rebels ſtrengthened themſelves there, and the French king ſent them the late king to head them againſt you, and ſupplies of all ſorts; had it not been for theſe traitors to your Majeſty and the Proteſtant religion, Ireland would have been maſtered with little expence; and they ought to have anſwered for the treaſure that ſhall be ſpent in reducing it.

Can you believe, Sir, that they who would have made terms for king James againſt you, will not be ready, if any change happens, to make terms with him, for themſelves,

themſelves, though it were by delivering your Majeſty up to him?

You ſee, Sir, how king James is ſupported by the French king; and with what inſolence papiſts, and many others, have carried themſelves againſt you and your government; many thouſands talk againſt you in all publick places, who not only declare their hopes of ſeeing king James here very ſuddenly, but ſeem aſſured that the nation will riſe to reſtore him as unanimouſly as they did to bring you in.

This confidence cannot be without ſome grounds, either from the aſſurances given by his friends in your councils, or that they ſee your buſineſs ſo ill managed, that it is impoſſible for the government to ſubſiſt.

At this conjuncture you ought certainly to truſt none, but ſuch as you can entirely confide in; ſuch alone whoſe integrity is known to the world, whoſe principles have brought them to your ſervice and intereſt, and whoſe ſafety and welfare is bound up with yours; not ſuch who would be in the ſame poſts, or better ſhould king James be re-eſtabliſhed, and have betrayed you to him ever ſince you employed them.

This ſpirit that hath riſen up againſt you is ſpread over England, as well as about the town; and though you may not think the militia of much uſe againſt diſciplined troops, yet if your Majeſty will put it into ſuch hands as you can truſt, they will be able to prevent any riſings or tumults that can be in the country, and ſecure your peace at home: therefore, Sir, it cannot be ill advice to ſettle it all over England as ſoon as poſſibly you can: they are paid by the country, and do not coſt you one penny.

There is another part of your conduct, which hath been of great prejudice to you; that you have carried yourſelf with ſuch coldneſs, ſlowneſs, and indifference in all buſineſs, and between all parties; the hands and hearts of your friends have been thereby weakened, and your enemies ſtrengthened againſt you.

It was expected by all men, when you took the government upon you, that you would have ſettled it both with wiſdom and vigour, that you would have made yourſelf ſafe from your foes, and put all power into the hands of your friends. Your enemies gave over all hopes, but thoſe of your mercy, and would never have thought of diſturbing your peace, had they not been invited to it by the ill conduct of your affairs.

It is no wonder that ſo many of them are crept in about you, and that ſome have gained ſuch credit with you, ſince you begin very early to forget your friends who had beſt ſerved you, and ſhowed more kindneſs to thoſe who had moſt oppoſed you. Certainly, Sir, you are the firſt king ſet up by power, that ever ſought to be ſupported by his enemies.

Were they not fit to be entruſted and employed by you, who had hazarded their all for you? or could you think thoſe who had placed the crown upon your head not able to keep it there? thoſe are doubtleſs two very good arguments for their fidelity and power to ſerve you.

Your coldneſs and ſlowneſs in buſineſs hath made your enemies think you are afraid of them; and your trimming between parties is beneath you and your cauſe. Had you made uſe of thoſe men alone who always appeared true to the intereſt of England, your enemies would not have had the confidence to have oppoſed you in any thing; your buſineſs would have gone on ſmooth and undiſturbed, and your reign would have been glorious: but employing a medley of men, who can never act heartily together, your friends could not ſerve you, and your enemies were encouraged to intrigue againſt you.

The wiſeſt and beſt thinking men do not comprehend what your Majeſty can propoſe to yourſelf from that ſcheme of meaſures which ſeems to be laid before you.

Can

Can it be for your Majeſty's ſervice to truſt or employ any of king James's creatures?

Or any who are notoriouſly known to be diſhoneſt men?

Or ſuch whoſe mal-adminiſtration heretofore made them hated by the people?

Or any of thoſe who had a hand, in the two laſt reigns, in bringing us into the miſery your Majeſty hazarded your all to deliver us out of?

You ſee, Sir, into what an ill condition they brought your affairs in one year. Is it not manifeſt that ſome of them have betrayed you, that others have cheated you, and that altogether they put your buſineſs into ſuch confuſion, that you know not which way to turn yourſelf? Your friends are hereby much diſcouraged, and rendered uncapable of ſerving you; for they neither can, nor will, act in the company, or under the direction of ſuch villains.

Your whole people complain, and your parliament is diſcontented at it. If the parliament had not ſeen theſe men employed, I dare affirm they would have ſettled upon your Majeſty and the Queen the revenue for life. In the laſt ſeſſions they complained of theſe people, yet were then willing to give the revenue for five or ſeven years; but now they ſee ſo much treachery, and the miſcarriages grown to ſuch a bulk, that they can no longer bear them. Your Majeſty ſuffers by it, for they will not truſt while theſe men are about you.

Who would have thought it poſſible, that the people of England would ſo ſoon grow jealous of you, their great deliverer, as not to truſt you with the revenue for more than one year? Theſe men are the only cauſe of it; and, firſt or laſt, you will find it abſolutely neceſſary to part with them.

If they loved your Majeſty, they would withdraw themſelves for your ſake; and if they were wiſe men, they would retire for their own: for if they bring us

to

to confuſion, again, they will be certain ſacrifices to the publick.

Doubtleſs they endeavour to miſrepreſent the parliament to your Majeſty, as if they deſigned to leſſen your power when they queſtion thoſe about you, or are diſſatisfied with any you employ; thereby hoping to ſhelter themſelves under your prerogative, and prevail with your Majeſty to protect them upon theſe ſpecious pretences.

This hath ever been the trick of wicked miniſters, and as often their ruin.

But, Sir, we hope it will not be in the power of any to fix thoughts in your Majeſty in prejudice of your parliament. No king of England can be great or happy without a perfect good underſtanding between him and his people: their intereſt is the ſame; and they are enemies to both who endeavour to divide them.

We cannot doubt your Majeſty's affection for the proteſtant religion and the people of England, ſince you have ſo much expoſed yourſelf to ſuccour them: and we hope, that neither the diſappointments you may have met with on the one hand, nor the inſinuation of ill men on the other, will divert you from finiſhing the good you intended us.

It is true you have an aftergame to play, yet we hope it may be retrieved, if your Majeſty pleaſes to take meaſures accordingly.

Open your heart to your people, let them ſee that you ſincerely deſire their good, and that it is your misfortune, not choice, that you have employed perſons you find them diſſatisfied with; tell them you are ready to quit whoever they diſlike, and that you will never keep any about you who are ſuſpected to them.

The putting away all thoſe who are complained of, cannot have any dangerous conſequence; for their intereſt is ſo ſmall, that altogether they cannot bring an hundred men either for or againſt you.

This

This will regain you all the hearts you have loſt; this will fill the Iſland with acclamations in your praiſe; this will make the parliament give you all the money you can want or deſire, and your name renowned to all ages.

We are fully perſuaded that your Majeſty does really intend the good of England; and ſince you do, why ſhould you not take the moſt ready courſe to make yourſelf and us eaſy and happy?

Since it hath not pleaſed God to bleſs you with children, you will by this means raiſe yourſelf a name more glorious to poſterity, than if you had children to make princes over many nations.

And if you had children to ſucceed you here, yet this would be the way to eſtabliſh your throne; for no king can be ſo great in England as he that reigns in the hearts of his people; and he that ſincerely deſires their good may command the laſt penny they have to give, and every drop of their blood to ſerve him.

The propoſal of ſettling a revenue, by act of parliament, upon the Princeſs Ann of Denmark, was fortunate for your Majeſty, for thereby you ſaw the number of your friends; and that if you take right meaſures, you may carry any thing in this houſe of commons. Your enemies could not have a more plauſible queſtion to draw in as many to their ſide as can be brought againſt you on any occaſion; yet you heard how weak they were; the deſign was plain to give the princeſs a great revenue, and make her independent upon your Majeſty, that ſhe might be the head of a party againſt you.

This was laboured by the tories and high church men, and carried for you by the honeſt old Whig intereſt: ſo that, Sir, you have clear demonſtration, which is the ſtronger; and we hope you will no longer delay eſpouſing the honeſter part of the nation.

Thoſe who made you king, and thoſe who keep your power from being eclipſed, deſire you to lay aſide the obnoxious men about you; and, Sir, we hope you will

will gratify us in a requeſt that is both for your honour and intereſt.

Your circumſtances are ſuch, by reaſon of enemies at home, and your wars abroad, that you will always want to be ſupported by parliaments, therefore it is neceſſary that you do what you can to ſatisfy your people, and do nothing to diſoblige them to bring yourſelf into diſputes with them, for it may be of moſt dangerous conſequence.

It is obſervable, in the reigns of king James the Firſt, king Charles the Firſt and Second, and the late king, that when they once came to have differences with their parliaments, they could never after call any new parliament that would do any thing for them; and, on the contrary, that queen Elizabeth's compliance and affability made her wonderfully beloved, and her parliaments grant whatever ſhe deſired.

If your Majeſty likes this advice, there be ſome honeſt men about you whom you may conſult with to improve it; tho' I proteſt that none of them know of this paper's coming to you, and am confident they will think theſe the only means to recover your almoſt loſt game; and it is what was done by king Henry the Fourth, a great prince, before you.

I entreat your Majeſty's pardon for this preſumption, and remain

Your moſt dutiful and loyal

Subject and ſervant.

December 25th, 1689.

In king William's box there is, in his own hand writing, a ſpeech he intended to make to his firſt parliament, when he prorogued it, with a reſolution to diſſolve it. It may be curious to an Engliſh reader to

to compare this intended ſpeech with that which his miniſters formed for him. The two copies follow.

The ſpeech which king William intended to have ſpoken when he diſſolved his firſt parliament, in his own hand.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE all the reaſons in the world to give you my hearty thanks for your readineſs in ſupplying me to carry on the wars I am engaged in: you may be aſſured that the money you have given me has and will be employed towards it, *as far as it will go*; and 'tis my greateſt grief to ſee my good people ſo much charged, and therefore would do all what lies in my power to ſee them eaſed: and the ſpeedy reducing of Ireland being of that great importance for the good of this kingdom, I am reſolved to go in perſon, to endeavour, under the bleſſing of God Almighty, to reduce that kingdom, that it may be no longer a burthen to this; and as I have ventured my life for the preſervation of the religion, laws, and liberties of this nation, ſo I am ready to do it again for the ſettlement of the ſame. . . . . And the time of the year being already ſo far ſpent, that there is but a very little left to make all preparations neceſſary to take early the field, which can't be done during the ſeſſion of a parliament, ſo that I am obliged to make an end of this, and do prorogue you till the firſt of April.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am ſo ſenſible of the readineſs you have ſhown to ſupply me with money for the carrying on the wars I am engaged in, that I am glad of this occaſion to give you thanks for your chearfull diſpatch, which was abſolutely neceſſary for the common ſafety. The beſt return I can make to your kindneſs is, to aſſure you that, *as far as it will go*, it ſhall all be employed to the purpoſes it was given.

It

It is a very ſenſible affliction to me, to ſee my good people burthened with heavy taxes; but ſince the *ſpeedy* recovering of *Ireland* is, in my opinion, the only means to eaſe them, and to preſerve the peace and honour of the nation, I am reſolved to go thither in perſon, and, with the bleſſing of God Almighty, endeavour to reduce that kingdom, that it may no longer be a charge to them.

And as I have already *ventured my life* for the preſervation of the religion, laws, and liberties of this nation; ſo I am now willing again to expoſe it, to ſecure you the quiet enjoyment of them.

The ſpring draws on, and it being requiſite I ſhould be *early* in the field, I muſt *immediately* apply my thoughts to the giving orders for the neceſſary preparations, which, that I may have the *more leiſure* to do, I have thought convenient now to put an end to this ſeſſion.

In king William's box there is the following letter to him, in the year 1689, which ſeems written by Mr. Hampden, diſſuading him from going to Ireland.

YOur Majeſtie having been pleaſed, as I am informed, to communicate to ſeveral perſons your reſolutions of going into Ireland, the great objections that occur to me are ſuch, that the infinite zeal I have for your Majeſty's ſervice, makes me preſume, in all humility, to lay them before you.

Firſt, Sir, It is greatlie to be feared, that ſince almoſt no bodie hath eſcaped ſickneſs that hath gone thither, your Majeſty will hardly eſcape it; and how fatal that may be, not only to England, but to Europe, every body knows, Ireland bearing no proportion to the concern and intereſt the world hath in the prolongation of your Majeſtie's life, the reaſons whereof are plain, but too long for this paper.

2dly,

2dly, The great numbers of men which it will be neceſſary for your Majeſty to carry over, and the many volunteers who will be deſirous to follow your Majeſtie, and will be compoſed of ſuch as are moſt affectionate to your royal perſon, will expoſe theſe two kingdoms too much to the deſigns of turbulent and diſaffected perſons, too many whereof appear to be in England, as well as Scotland, who no doubt have an underſtanding together; and 'tis to be feared they do but wait for ſuch an opportunity to execute their deſigne.

3dly, It appearing manifeſtlie alreadie, that all things allmoſt for the ſupport of the armys, muſt be ſupplied from hence, and how difficult it is to do it, even when we have had the royal authority to command it to be done: your Majeſtie will eaſily believe, that it will be next to impoſſible, when that is wanting, to furniſh in time, and ſufficiently, for an army near three times as big as this was this laſt year.

4thly, The difficultys will be infinite in ſettling the adminiſtration of the government during your Majeſty's abſence. If your Majeſty intruſts your councills to a few, there exception will be taken, and jealouſies will increaſe, though perhaps as unreaſonably as hitherto they have done. If your Majeſty make a full counſell, then factions and miſunderſtandings will ariſe amongſt them, which will obſtruct buſineſs, beſides that it cannot eaſily be reſolved whether there ought to be any parliament or not, even upon the greateſt occaſions.

Laſtly, The expence of treaſure will be ſo great that it ſeems to put the whole fate of Europe upon the ſucceſs of the expedition, which can never be certain, from the ſituation of the country, the unhealthy weather, the want of proviſion, and many other difficultys.

That

That I may explain the reaſon laſt offered, give me leave humblie to lay before your Majeſtie the ſtate of the treaſure, and your charge for the next year.

The land forces will coſt — —	2,500,000
Your navy, — — —	1,400,000
The civil liſt, — — —	0,600,000
The debt already contracted, —	1,400,000
The contingent charges of tranſports, clothing, magazines, hay, artillery, and carriages, &c. — —	300,000
Total	6,200,000
Towards this there appears a proſpect only of two millions, granted by parliament and the revenue in all,	3,000,000
So there will be a debt, — —	3,200,000

This debt amounts to ſo formidable a ſum, that the effects of it appear terrible; for firſt, the want of money will be ſo great, that your army will be in a great meaſure unpaid: 2dly, it is almoſt certain that it will create obſtructions in all neceſſary ſupplies to the army from time to time, on which the ſucceſs of the whole buſineſs will depend; and your Majeſtie's honor, and the glory of your name, and the welfare of theſe kingdoms, are things of too great moment to be hazarded againſt ſuch apparent difficulties: but 3dly, it is to be feared that the merchants who are to furniſh powder and ſtores, and the navy and victuals, will have ſo loſt their credit, that it is to be doubted, whether it will be poſſible to ſett out a fleet another year, which added to the danger of a mutinie, which may juſtly be feared in an army ſo much unpaid, as this muſt be, ſeems to reduce your Majeſtie's affairs in theſe kingdoms to the laſt diſtreſs.

And

And ſhould the beſt thing that can, happen, notwithſtanding theſe apparent dangers, which is the total reduction of Ireland, this debt would be ſo great, that the parliament will certainly quarrel with the ill huſbandry, and ſay it might have been done for leſs, and the factious will certainlie make uſe of that argument, and the diſtreſſes your Majeſtie's affaires will be in for want of money, to offer things more ungrateful to your Majeſtie than hitherto they have done. To cure all this in my poor opinion there is but one way, which is to reduce the charge, whatever the conſequences be, to ſuch a proportion, that the warr may be carried on, and the government ſubſiſt, and the armies and fleet well paid, and thereby depend and be affectionate to your Majeſtie's ſervice, though leſs numerous by this means. So Ireland will infallibly fall into your Majeſtie's hands the next year, if it doe not this. Your Majeſtie will be free from clamours for money, and all the uneaſie conſequences of it; your mind will be at eaſe, and your affairs, though not ſo raiſed in their victories, will be more ſafe, and if a diſappointment happen, it will be leſs afflicting, and eaſier repaired; and whatever happen of objection from the parliament, there is this anſwer obvious, that your Majeſtie hath done all that the ſupplies they furniſhed you with, could enable you to do. But, Sir, if with this leſſer armie and fleet, you ſhould happen to be ſo victorious, but to a degree of getting Dublin, then, Sir, as the glorie would be greater, ſo every body that had money, would be readie to lay it out upon adventures of land there, to a degree of ſupplying your treaſure, whatever the parliament doe. To explain all the happy effects of ſuch an accident, would be too long here. There is one thing more, which ſeems abſolutely neceſſary, which is, that after the raiſing of the parliament, your Majeſty go into Scotland, to ſettle that kingdom; at which journey your Majeſty will doubtleſs take ſuch care as that your Majeſty will be ſafe for many years from having diſturbance from thence,

and ſo defeate thoſe that depend upon them here. I ought here to have offered your Majeſtie a ſcheme for reducing the charge of the next year to the proportion I mentioned, but not knowing how far your Majeſty will approve this humble opinion, and beſides there being ſo many abler men to make it, I do not here offer it, but if your Majeſtie pleaſes to encourage my zeal, ſo as to command my thoughts, I will lay them before your Majeſtie, with that integrity and true loyalty, which I muſt always have to your Majeſtie's ſervice.

In King William's box there is a letter from lord Delamer to the marquis of Caermathen, in the year 1689, on the ſame ſubject with Mr. Hampden's. Part of it is as follows:

THE ſmall regard which the king has given to my advice and opinion, as well in relation to things as perſons, is an unanſwerable argument to me, that I ought rather to be ſilent than unaſkt to offer my ſentiments upon his going into Ireland; but whether ſuch neglect of me has proceeded from a mean opinion of my underſtanding, or a diſtruſt of my ſincere inclinations to his ſervice, or elſe from a greater reliance his Majeſty may have in your abilities, and the integrity of others, I know not, yet I cannot but declare that it grates the harder upon me to ſee a preference given to thoſe who have juſtly rendered themſelves ſuſpected, by oppoſing his having the crown, and obſtructing every thing that tends to the ſettling of it ſince it was upon his head.

They are not many who will not allow me to have a competent meaſure of ſenſe, and the number is not greater that think I act againſt my judgment; and muſt it not then be a moſt ſenſible trouble to be regarded as if I were a knave or a fool, and by him, with whom

whom voluntarily and unaſkt I ventured all I had in the world, and waſted a great part of it, and have exerted the utmoſt of my underſtanding and intereſt to make him eaſy, ſafe, and great; but I have this to ſupport me, that I have not done any thing to give him the leaſt cauſe to diſtruſt me, nor ever offered him any advice which the iſſue of it did not prove I was in the right.

BOOK V.

In King William's box is lord Annandale's confeſſion of the Scotch part of the firſt conſpiracy againſt King William.

A full and faithful account of the conſpiracy William earl of Annandale was with others engaged in againſt the government, written from the earl's own mouth by Sir William Lockhart, and delivered by the earl to the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty, the 14th day of Auguſt, 1690.

AFTER the firſt adjournment of the Scotch parliament in the year, 1689, the earl of Annandale, lord Roſs, ſir James Montgomery of Scallmorlie, came to London, contrary to the king's expreſs command, and preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, which (with a paper called the vindication of it, written by Mr. Robert Ferguſon, as ſir James Montgomery told the earl, who furniſhed him the materials) gave ſuch offence to the king, as made us quickly ſee we had totally loſt the king's favour. Thus the earl continued in London without entering into any deſign till the beginning of December, about which time ſir James Montgomery, who is perhaps the worſt and moſt reſtleſs man alive,

came to the earl, and propoſed to him, that, ſeeing there was no hopes of doing any thing with the king, we ought to apply ourſelves to King James, who was our lawfull prince, and who would no doubt give us what preferments and employments we pleaſed. To this purpoſe ſeveral days we diſcourſed, and the earl having agreed to the propoſition, it was thereafter propoſed by ſir James to the lord Roſs, who after much difficulty engaged therein. Then did we meet, and conſider the moſt proper ways of making our application to the late king; but ſir James Montgomery had already ſo ordered that matter, that the lord Roſs and the earl had little more to do but to ſay Amen. For at this time he produced three papers, all writt with his own hand. Firſt, A commiſſion for one to repreſent the late king in parliament. Second, Inſtructions to his commiſſioner, conſiſting, to the beſt of the earl's memory, of 32 articles. The third, A declaration calculated for Scotland; all which were to be ſent to, and ſigned by the late king. The perſon who was to carry this extraordinary meſſage, and which ſeemed of greateſt difficulty, was as ready as the reſt, who was one Simpſon, whoſe acquaintance the lord Roſs and the earl owed to ſir James. Some days after, the earl was conducted by ſir James to the Fleet priſon, where they again diſcourſed the whole affair with Simpſon and Nevil Payne, and declares he was, in all, three times there with the ſame company, only the lord Roſs was once with them. Thereafter the earl had two other meetings on this ſubject, the one in his own lodgings, and the other at the Globe tavern near Northumberland houſe, where were preſent ſir James, Mr. Simpſon, capt. Williamſon, ſir Robert Clerk, and the lord Roſs, who was only at one of them, but does not remember which. Williamſon and Clerk did at this time reſolve to go to France with Simpſon. The next and laſt meeting the earl had in England on this affair, was at capt. Williamſon's houſe near Hyde Park, where all the above named perſons, except Nevil Payne, were preſent.

ſent. We looked over all the papers were to go with Simpſon, and the credentials he was to have from us was ſigned there, which was produced under ſir James Montgomery's hand in black ink, and writ over in white ink either by Clerk or Williamſon, and ſigned with white ink by the earl, lord Roſs, and ſir James. The ſubſtance of it was, that they were ſorry they had departed from that duty and allegiance they owed to King James, great aſſurances to be faithfull for the future, telling the neceſſity of ſatisfying the people of Scotland in the method preſcribed, and that there might be full credit given to the bearer, which with the forementioned papers were at this time delivered to Simpſon, who carried them to Ireland by the way of France. This is all the earl remembers to have been tranſacted in England in this matter. And the earl does declare that the whole of the project was bottomed on this ground, that we were able to bring home King James in a parliamentary way, being, as we believed, the majority of the parliament; for though we durſt not make any inſinuation to the diſſenters of bringing home King James, they really abhorring that thought, yet many of them we knew would concurr to force the king to yield to thoſe demands which he had ſhewed his diſlike of, or ſo to oppoſe the king's meaſures, that (though they deſired not the parliament diſſolved) yet would certainly oblige the king to do it, which would ſo have ſerved the deſign that the earl can with great aſſurance declare, that not only the country would have been in confuſion, but that when the king ſhould have been neceſſitated to call another parliament, the plurality would have called back King James. That this project might be managed to the beſt advantage, the earl and ſir James Montgomery, about the end of December, went to Scotland, the lord Roſs having gone two days before; and it was at this time that ſir James did ſettle a correſpondence with Nevil Payne, under the direction of Archibald Moor, Patrick Johnſon, and James Hamilton. The earl declares, that ſo

ſoon as they arrived at Edinburgh, ſir James and he waited on the earl of Arran, and told him all they had tranſacted at London, in ſending the meſſage to the late king, which he then approved of, and was willing to do any thing would bring home his old maſter. Thus matters went on in Scotland, the Jacobites and we joyning cordially in the deſign of obſtructing the king's affairs, ſo as ſhould oblige him to diſſolve this parliament. To this end all endeavours were uſed to oblige thoſe who were for King James to come in, and take the oaths, ſo that from the number of Jacobites that were to come in on the one hand, and the appearance we made for the liberty of the ſubject on the other, by which we had many diſſenters, and the advantage we received from the frequent adjournments, gave us good hopes of ſucceſs; but quickly we were diſappointed, for when the parliament had ſitt ſome days, we plainly ſaw that the diſſenters had got ſuch a confidence in the earl of Melvill's ſincerity, both for the intereſt of the king, and liberty of the people, and ſeeing us openly appear with thoſe they concluded Jacobites, they left us almoſt in every vote. So that the Jacobites finding there might great inconveniences ariſe to them from ſo publick an appearance againſt the intereſt of the king and ſettlement of the nation, they told us plainly, they would leave us, and concurr in the money bill, which was the chief thing which from the beginning we all reſolved to oppoſe. Thus the meaſures of getting the parliament diſſolved being broke, we broke among ourſelves, and every one looked to his own ſafety. Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in parliament, Mr. Simpſon comes to Edinburgh with the return of his meſſage from King James, and to the beſt of the earl's remembrance it was upon the being her Majeſty's birth day; he brought with him a great bundle of papers ſealed up in a large leather bag with the late king's own ſeal. It was delivered to ſir James Montgomery and opened by him in his own chamber, without calling either Roſs or the earl, who were equally concerned in the

the meſſage; ſo that ſir James might have taken out what papers he pleaſed without controul. The earl, according to the beſt of his memory, gives in the following liſt of what papers he ſaw under the late king's hand.

1. A commiſſion to himſelf to repreſent King James in parliament.
2. Inſtructions to him in a large parchment, and many particular inſtructions apart.
3. A commiſſion for a council of five, very ample, to the earls of Arran and Annandale, lord Roſs, ſir James Montgomery; and whether Argyle's name was in for the fifth, or a blank, he does not remember.
4. A commiſſion of council, wherein duke Hamilton and moſt of the old privy councellors were named, with a blank, for the council of five to inſert whom they pleaſed.
5. A commiſſion for the ſeſſion, wherein ſir William Hamilton and ſir James Ogilvie were named, and ſeveral others which the earl does not remember.
6. A commiſſion of juſticiary.
7. A commiſſion to James Stuart to be lord advocate.
8. A general indemnity, ſix perſons only excepted; the earl of Melville, lord Leven, lieutenant-general Douglaſs, major-general Mackay, ſir John Dalrymple lord advocate, and the biſhop of Saliſbury.
9. A great many letters, writ with King James's own hand, to moſt of the conſiderable men in Scotland, and above 40 more ſuperſcribed by him to be directed and delivered as the council of five ſhould think fitt.
10. A letter to the three that ſent the meſſage.
11. A particular letter to Annandale, and a commiſſion to command the caſtle of Edinburgh; and a patent for a marquiſs.

12. The earl has heard that ſir James had a particular letter; but he ſaw a commiſſion to be ſecretary, and a patent to be an earl.

13. The lord Roſs had a commiſſion to be colonel of the horſe guards, and an earl's patent.

The earl declares that many of theſe papers are burnt, ſome yet extant, and that what are in his own cuſtody, he ſhall deliver to whom Her Majeſty ſhall appoint. The earl of Annandale does further declare, that although he had talked with the earls of Linlithgow, Balcarras, Breadalbine, lord Duffus, lord Preſton, lord Boyne, and ſir James Oglebie, ſir William Scott, about the bringing home King James, and aſſuring them he was in his intereſt, yet the particular meſſage from London he only communicated to the marquiſs of Athole and the earl of Arran, and declares that the meſſage having come upon the Thurſday, it remained with ſir James Montgomery untill the Saturday morning, that he and the earl carried all the papers abovementioned to the earl of Arran's lodging in Holyroodhouſe, where Arran and Roſs were, and there did conſult what papers were proper to ſhow to the reſt of the cabal who were that afternoon to meet at the earl of Breadalbin's lodgings. It was here reſolved, that nothing ſhould be communicated to them but King James's commiſſion to his commiſſioner, the 32 articles of inſtructions, and the particular letters, becauſe we apprehended the reſt would have taken umbrage at the extraordinary truſt given to us by the commiſſion of the council of 5, and commiſſions for the greateſt truſts and firſt offices of the kingdom, which ſome of themſelves had in the late king's reign enjoyed. So in the afternoon, according to appointment, we met at the earl of Breadalbin's lodging, where were preſent the marquiſs of Athole, the earl of Linlithgow, Annandale, Balcarras, Breadalbin, lord Roſs, ſir James Montgomery, who after having conſidered the papers, were not ſatisfied with them, and were ill pleaſed that the declaration ſent to France was not returned, and all

of

of them did extremely blame us who had ſent the meſſage, for thinking it was poſſible to do King James's buſineſs in this parliament, and that in place of theſe papers, we ought to have writ for ammunition and arms and forces if they could be obtained. So we parted, and the papers continued in Breadalbin's hands, untill the Monday, at which time ſir James Montgomery and the earl returned to Breadalbin's lodgings, who ſent for one Cambell a writer, who had the keeping of the papers; and we being ſatisfied that they could be of no import for king James's ſervice, and might prove deſtructive to us if they ſhould come into the hands of the government, we in Breadalbin's bedchamber burned them.

In king William's box are the three following letters from the marquis of Caermarthen and lord Nottingham, about the firſt plot againſt king William.

Marquis of Caermarthen to king William.

SIR, London, 13th June, 1690.

YESTERDAY I received the honour of Your Majeſty's letter of the 10th, and this day we had the news of Your Majeſty's being embarked on the 11th, with ſo good a wind that I doubt not but Your Majeſty arrived in Ireland on the 12th, where I hope you will find your victories as eaſy as your paſſage.

The wind has ſtood ſo well ever ſince the 10th, that I hope it will have remedied the miſtake of thoſe ſhips which are gone to Kircudbright, and it may have carried the fleet wherever they would go; only they will be retarded awhile by ſtaying to take up lord Pembroke's regiment on board at Portſmouth. I imparted Your Majeſty's commands to the queen concerning the parliament, about which I found you had given her ſome intimation; but it will be neceſſary, before the time of its meeting, to let her have your expreſs directions on that

that matter; to the end her Majesty may deliver it as such to the great council.

It hath been expected that before this time some informations would have come from Scotland, by which sir John Cohrain and Mr. Ferguson might have been detained in custody. There hath little appeared by their papers, saving a constant correspondence betwixt them and some of the club, and sir John's having been ordered to buy some serviceable horses for my lord Ross in April last; in which month it appears by several letters, which have been taken in other hands, that something was expected to have been then done which failed.

All things here seem to be in a very peaceable posture; and the dean of Paul's and I do intend to attempt the making some reconciliations in the city, amongst such as are best able to contribute to your service there, if they can be brought to agree with one another.

I acknowledge Your Majesty's great goodness and condescension in having been pleased to afford me expressions so far beyond what is possible for me to deserve; and I am sure that if I had not been already devoted to Your Majesty's service with such an entire resignation as is not possible to be greater, I must necessarily have been so, from the date of that letter which comes from an hand so sacred both for truth and greatness of mind.

I am sorry that my son's interest seeming to interfere with major Wildman's, makes it less fit for me to reflect upon his actings: but there are divers passages which make it highly probable that Mr. Wildman is privy to whatever has been acting against the government in Scotland, and particularly his burning very many of his papers, as he did certainly the same night after Ferguson and his papers were seized; with whom I find he used to be constantly in private twice or thrice every week. His proceedings also with sir Samuel Moreland, which are too tedious to trouble Your Majesty withal, and about which he gave sir Samuel a particular strict charge

that

that I ſhould know nothing. Upon that whole matter, I do truly believe him to be a very dangerous man to the government; and that neither Your Majeſty's nor the Queen's letters do eſcape his ſearch, if he can get to them: inſomuch that I am in my conſcience of opinion, that of all the hands in England the poſt-office ought the leaſt to be truſted in his; eſpecially at this time.

I beg leave to conclude with this aſſurance to Your Majeſty, that I am, both by obligation, inclination, and duty, SIR,

Yours, &c.

CAERMARTHEN P.

Lord Nottingham to king William.——Lady Dorcheſter and Mr. Graham ſpies to government.——Weak ſtate of the kingdom.——Preſſes the king to return.

SIR,

I THINK it my duty to acquaint Your Majeſty with ſome informations I have lately had from perſons that are privy to all matters relating to the intereſts of the late king, as Your Majeſty will eaſily believe, when I tell you they are my lady Dorcheſter and Mr. James Grahme: the latter will now take the oaths of fidelity, and gives me this reaſon for it: that though he has done all he could to ſerve king James, yet, ſince there is now no further poſſibility of doing him any good, but the quarrel is now more immediately between England and France, he will behave himſelf as becomes a true lover of his country, and a faithful ſubject of Your Majeſty's; concluding, that if the French king ſhould ſucceed in any attempt here, it would be no advantage to his old maſter, who, by his behaviour in Ireland, muſt needs have loſt all that reſpect which ever the court of France pretended to ſhew him. This is what he ſays; but I gueſs, that the taking the oaths being neceſſary to entitle him to Your Majeſty's general pardon,

pardon, this is at leaſt one motive to induce him to his preſent reſolution.

He ſays he will never be an evidence, nor would willingly name any perſons; but promiſes me he will diſcover every thing that he hears of the French deſigns; and if any letters ſhould be intercepted, he will explain the meaning of them.

He tells me, that almoſt all the perſons of any quality in Scotland are in a conſpiracy againſt the government; and though all are not for the late king, yet they are contented to join with his friends to overthrow the preſent conſtitution; my lady Dorcheſter added, that my lord marquis of Athol had received 1200l. to carry on this deſign, but did not diſtribute it as he ſhould have done. She named alſo my lord Belcarris, who was to have gone lately into France, but wanted money.

As to the French deſigns, they, in proſpect of the ſucceſs of their fleet, intended to have invaded England with 40,000 men, part from France, and part from Ireland, where they expected the war would have been prolonged by avoiding a battle; but whether the defeat there will alter their meaſures as to the time of this invaſion, he knows not: for they have ready great numbers of tranſport ſhips, and particularly for 2000 horſe; and there are ſome perſons gone into France to give an account of Your Majeſty's great ſucceſs in Ireland, and of the poſture of affairs here. And Mr. Grahme has promiſed to inform me of the reſolutions taken thereupon in France, whether to delay or haſten their attempt upon England: and I beg leave humbly to offer my thoughts to Your Majeſty, that it will be in a few days or not at all; for though the deſign was at firſt laid to be executed towards the end of the campaign, yet it was upon a ſuppoſition that their fleet would have wholly deſtroyed that of Your Majeſty by ſurprizing them before they were joined, and that the war of Ireland would have laſted much longer; and that their frigates would have deſtroyed your tranſport ſhips: but being diſappointed in the two firſt, (and I hope in the laſt

laſt too) and knowing that it is poſſible for Your Majeſty's fleet to be at ſea in three weeks time, and that Your Majeſty is at liberty of returning yourſelf, and bringing a great number of troops, they muſt conclude they ſhall not be able to make the attempt of landing here, and much leſs of ſucceeding in it, unleſs they immediately undertake it, while there is nothing by ſea, and little by land, to oppoſe them; and beſides theſe reaſons, I have a poſitive oath of a French fiſherman taken lately by the Crown frigate, that great numbers of troops were drawing together to St. Malo's from ſeveral parts of France, and it was publickly talked of that they were deſigned to invade England: and my lord Marlborough tells me, that colonel Talmaſh writes the Marſhal Humieres is drawing a great army to join the duke of Luxemburgh, but more probably to be embarked at Dunkirk, towards which coaſt ſome French men of war were ſeen to be detached after the battle; and my lord further tells me, that it is diſcourſed here among the diſaffected, that Humieres is coming hither with 18,000 foot and 2000 horſe.

How ill a condition we are in to reſiſt them Your Majeſty can judge; the fleet cannot be expected at ſea theſe three weeks at the leaſt, and, I fear, not near ſo ſoon; and though vice admiral Killigrew be arrived at Plymouth, yet his ſhips are ſo foul, that he can't avoid the enemy if he ſhould attempt to come up the channel; and the difficulty therefore of joining the fleet is almoſt inſuperable: the troops that can be drawn together, will not be above five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe and dragoons; and the reſt of our ſtrength is in the militia, on which Your Majeſty will not much rely, and the moſt conſiderable part of that, which is in London, makes difficulty of marching out of London. Their auxiliaries cannot preſently be raiſed, and expect to be armed as uſual, by the crown, and their offers of one thouſand dragoons and four hundred horſe moſt certainly cannot be effected in ſo ſhort a time as is neceſſary, much leſs can they be ſo diſciplined

plined as to be uſefull; ſo that, if the French ſhould ſuddenly land, they might in a few days be maſters of London, and from thence of all your ſhips in harbour, and with the help of their fleet, of the others alſo that are at the Buoy in the Nore.

I ſhould not have ſaid thus much, had it been my own opinion ſingly, but I think all the reſt of my lords of the committee concur with me in it.

Your Majeſty knows the officers you have left here, and how few there are that have any experience; but I am bound to tell you, that I hear there will be ſome difficulty made of ſubmitting to the chief; I cannot ſay with any reaſon; but ſuch an humour only is ſufficient to diſcompoſe a greater ſtrength than we can make.

And I humbly hope Your Majeſty will pardon me, that I tell you, there are not wanting diſaffected perſons, who, although they will not riſe in arms againſt you, yet give occaſion of diſcontents and murmurings, by ſaying, that England is at the yearly charge of five millions, and has near 80,000 men in pay in the defence of Ireland, Scotland, and Flanders, and is itſelf naked and deſtitute of the means of its preſervation.

All which makes Your Majeſty's return ſo neceſſary, that nothing ſhould delay it, but the impoſſibility of it with ſafety to your perſon; but however, I preſume Your Majeſty will ſend a very conſiderable body of your troops, and think it much better to hazard them than a whole kingdom.

The meſſenger is returned from Bath, where my lord Annandale was at his arrival there, and through folly or knavery has ſuffered him to eſcape.

Whitehall, I am,
July 15th, 90. Your Majeſty's moſt obedient ſubject.

NOTTINGHAM.

Part

Part of a letter from the marquis of Caermarthen to King William, 12 Auguſt, 1690.——Suſpicions of many in England.

I SUPPOSE Your Majeſty is informed by others what ſcruples ſome of the admiralty raiſe upon all occaſions, and that as ſome of them have refuſed to ſign the commiſſion for the preſent admirals (though contrary to the expreſs orders to have it done) ſo they now raiſe numbers of doubts about forming a commiſſion for trial of my lord Torrington, and are deſigning to bring that matter into parliament, and to be tried there by a faction, if they can encompaſſe their deſigns in that, as they hope to do in other things.

I know not whether the Queen does give Your Majeſty any account of my lord Annandale's confeſſion to her this day, concerning the tranſactions which have been ſince December laſt, betwixt the late king and ſir James Montgomery, my lord Roſs, and himſelf. He ſays he ſhall recollect more than he has yet ſaid; but he does acknowledge their having treated with the late king, and received commiſſions from him; and that one ſir Robert Clark, captain Williamſon, Neale Paine, and one Sympſon have been their chief agents and meſſengers. That Ferguſon was privy to it, and others in England whom he does not know. That they did firſt deſign to have carried it on in Scotland by a parliament, but finding that to fail, their buſineſs was then to interrupt the progreſs of all affairs in parliament. He ſays ſir James Montgomery is now in town, notwithſtanding his having newly promiſed the commiſſioner in Scotland, that he would come directly to the Queen, inſomuch that the committee writ but ten days ago to the Queen, that he had promiſed ſir James he ſhould be ſafe from any reſtraint, and beſought the Queen that his promiſe might be kept with him: but it now appears that he hath only cheated the commiſſioner, thereby to ſecure himſelf from being taken, whilſt he negociates with his confederates here, who have

have made ſome of themſelves appear, by refuſing to ſign my lord Roſs his commitment.

I fear Your Majeſty will find a great many ſuch friends amongſt us, and I believe you have not found the difficulties ſo great in the conqueſt of your adverſaries abroad, as you will do how to deale with a people at home, who are as fearful of your being too proſperous as any of your enemies can be; and who have laid as many ſtratagems in your way as they can to prevent it; and if by your prudent conduct Your Majeſty can ſurmount their deſigns, I ſhall not doubt of your being as great a king, and we as happy ſubjects, as I wiſh both, and will contribute towards, as far as can be in my ſmall power.

Remark.] The expreſſion in this letter that thoſe who refuſed to ſign lord Roſs's commitment were his aſſociates, is very ſingular; conſidering, that from the queen's letter to king William, afterwards to be printed, of date July $\frac{20}{10}$, 1690: it appears that thoſe who refuſed to ſign, were the duke of Bolton, the marquis of Wincheſter, lord Devonſhire, and lord Montague.

In king William's box is the following letter from lord Torrington to lord Caermarthen.

Account of the battle off Beachy Head.

MY LORD,

I THIS day received your lordſhip's, at an unfortunate place and at an unfortunate time; for yeſterday morning, according to her Majeſty's order received Sunday in the afternoon, we engaged the enemy's fleet with the wind eaſterly, a freſh gale; we bore down upon them. The Dutch had the van. By that time we had fought two hours it fell calm, which was a great misfortune to us all, but moſt to the Dutch; who

who being moſt diſabled, it gave the French an opportunity of deſtroying all their lame ſhips, which I hitherto have prevented, by ordering them to anchor, falling with the red ſquadron, by the help of the tide, between all but one of their lame ſhips and the enemy, that ſingle ſhip, for want of anchoring, is, without a maſt, fallen into the power of the French: we rid within three miles one of another, till the fleet came, and then weighed. The French rid faſt, which has given us the opportunity of getting about five leagues from the body of their fleet. We have the Dutch lame ſhips in tow, and will endeavour to get them into the river, or Portſmouth: ſeveral of the Engliſh ſhips are very much diſabled, and have loſt many men, of which I cannot yet give your lordſhip the particulars: others have had better fortune, myſelf for one; for I have not loſt many more than twenty men, that I can yet hear of, and eight cannon diſmounted by the enemy's ſhot, and pretty many ſevere ſhot under water. Moſt of the officers behaved themſelves very well; but the Dutch, in point of courage, to admiration. I ſend your lordſhip, incloſed, a copy of their defects, as I received it from admiral Evertzen. as he delivered it me this morning. Many of them, I believe, have loſt many men. Captain Noordley, rear admiral Jan Dick and Brackell killed. We have loſt captain Botham; and I doubt captain Pomroy will die; two marine captains in my regiment, and ſeveral ſea and land lieutenants, and other officers.

We have taken up a French guard marine, that tells me he was ſhot overboard with the taffarel of the ſhip he belonged to. He aſſures me (and if I may believe my eyes he ſays true) that the French fleet conſiſts of eighty-two men of war, of which the leaſt carries fifty guns, and not above ſix of them leſs; they have thirty fireſhips: that ſeveral of their ſhips have received damage is certain, for they have bore away from us; it is that makes me hope we ſhall be able to make our

retreat good with our lame ships, which is utterly impossible if they press us; pray God send us well off. It has been said they are ill mann'd; but I do assure you the oldest seaman that lives never saw quicker firing: it will be reasonable to take some quick resolution about the Dutch, whether they shall go home to refit, or be refitted in the river. What the consequence of this unfortunate battle may be, God Almighty only knows: but this I dare be positive in; had I been left to my liberty, I had prevented any attempt upon the land, and secured the western ships Killegrew and the merchantmen. I have sent the Mary galley to order Shovell and all merchant shipps he meets, to secure themselves in the first port of strength they can fetch. My intentions are, if possible, to retire into the river, and there make what defence I can, if they come so far: many of our ships want shot for their upper guns, and the Dutch have very little left. Had I undertaken this of my own head, I should not well know what to say; but its being done by command, will, I hope, free me from blame.

Off of Beachy, July the 1st,
One in the afternoon. I am, &c.

TORRINGTON.

In king William's box are the following letters from queen Mary to king William in Ireland; all of which I print, because they shew the distracted state of England at the time; and perhaps may enable the reader to form some idea of the character of a princess, who was in one of the most singular situations known in history.

Queen

Queen Mary to king William.——Her vexation at his leaving her.

Whitehall, June $\frac{22}{13}$, 1690.

YOU will be weary of seeing every day a letter from me, it may be; yet being apt to flatter myself, I will hope you will be as willing to read as I to write. And indeed it is the only comfort I have in this world, besides that of trust in God. I have nothing to say to you at present that is worth writing, and I think it unreasonable to trouble you with my grief, which I must continue while you are absent, though I trust every post to hear some good news or other from you; therefore I shall make this very short, and only tell you I have got a swell'd face, though not quite so bad yet, as it was in Holland five years ago. I believe it came by standing too much at the window, when I took the waters. I cannot enough thank God for your being so well past the dangers of the sea; I beseech him in his mercy still to preserve you so, and send us once more a happy meeting upon earth. I long to hear again from you how the air of Ireland agrees with you, for I must own I am not without my fears for that, loving you so entirely as I do, and shall till death.

Queen Mary to King William.—Complaints of the Queen Dowager.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{June 21,}}{\text{July 1,}}$ 1690.

I Received yesterday, with great joy, your dear letter of the $\frac{26}{16}$th, from Belfast, from whence I see you intended, if pleased God, to march last Thursday. I pray God you may still find the Irish air better and better; I hope he will of his mercy give you all the success we can desire. I must now tell you a thing at large, which I suppose you may have heard of last

poſt; for after I had writ my letter and ſent it away, lord Nott. lord chamberlain, and lord Marlborough came to me. The lords of the cabinet council had recommended ſome perſons to be reprieved in order to tranſportation; and lord Ch. preſs'd extremely that M'Guire might be pardoned. I told him, that having ſpoke to you about him, the laſt anſwer you gave was, that he muſt be hanged, having deſerved it; but he aſſured me that you had received other information ſince, and would certainly pardon him were you here; ſo that at laſt I ſaid I would conſent he ſhould be tranſported with the reſt; which I thought was all I could do upon his importunity after what you had ſaid. In any other caſe than that of a man's life, you may be ſure I would not have been perſuaded ſo far after what you had ſaid, but I thought there was too much cruelty in refuſing that for the time: but lord Nott. told me, you had taken a reſolution never to pardon burglary, and he deſired that he might tell every body ſo, that I might be no more importuned. I ſhall not trouble you with every thing theſe lords ſaid to me at this time, but the chief thing was that they had had the parſon in examination, upon a report that lord Feverſham had forbid him ſaying the prayer for your ſucceſs at Somerſet-houſe: Upon which he went to him, and aſked him if it were his order? Lord Feverſham told him, Yes: for it may be, ſaid he, if the Q. hears this prayer is uſed, ſhe may take it for a pretence to forbid any prayers at all in that place, ſince ſhe is not obliged to have any thing but maſs there: but this ſhe connives at; and lord Feverſham and the reſt of the Proteſtant ſervants contribute to the paying the miniſter, who they ſay is an honeſt man, and does not omit any thing in his pariſh: but he believing he muſt obey lord Feverſham, did leave it out ſome days; upon which many of the Q. D. ſervants would not go to prayers there, but told it; yet lord Feverſham, upon Wedneſday laſt, ordered the whole office for the faſt to be uſed. This is ſo unaccountable a way of proceeding, that I think there

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is as much folly as any thing elſe in it; but I was extreme angry, which thoſe lords ſaw, but I ſhall not trouble you with it. I told them I thought there was no more meaſures to be kept with the queen herſelf after this; that is, if it were her order, as no doubt it is; but firſt lord Nott. was to ſend for lord Fev. to him; I deſired him to ſpeak as angrily as it was poſſible, which he promiſed; but lord Fev. was with him as ſoon as he got home, having heard the parſon had been examined. He was it ſeems in pain; when lord Nott. told him all I had ſaid, he ſeem'd much concerned, and deſired to come, throw himſelf at my feet, and own all the matter as a very great fault in him, but done out of no ill deſign: to be ſhort, he came yeſterday in my bed-chamber, at the hour there was a great deal of company, (I mean then juſt before dinner) he ſeemed extreamly concerned, lookt as pale as death, and ſpoke in great diſorder; he ſaid, he muſt own it a very great fault, ſince I took it ſo: but he begged me to believe 'twas not done out of any ill intention, nor by agreement with any body: he aſſured me the Queen herſelf knew nothing of it; he ſaid 'twas a fault, and a folly, an indiſcretion, or any thing I would call it: I told him, after doing a thing of that nature, the beſt way was not to be about excuſing it; that 'twas impoſſible, ſince to call it by the moſt gentle name I could give it, 'twas an unpardonable folly, and which I did not expect, after the proteſtations he had made; upon which he ſaid abundance of words. I doubt whether he himſelf knew what he meant by them, but I am ſure I could make nothing of them; till at laſt he ſpoke plain enough, that I underſtood: he ſaid, God pardoned ſinners when they repented, ſo he hoped I would. I told him, God ſaw the hearts, whether the repentance was ſincere, which ſince I could not do, he muſt not find it ſtrange if I would truſt only to actions, and ſo I left him: this is all I think to a ſyllable what I ſaid to him, and as much as I could make ſenſe of that he ſaid to me;

but though I pity the poor man for being obliged thus to take the queen dowager's faults upon him, yet I could not bring myself to forgive him. This I remember I did say more, that if it had been to myself, I could have pardoned him, but when it immediately concerned your person, I would, nor could not. The Q. D. sent me a compliment yesterday, upon my swelled face, (which I do not know if I have writ you word of, but yesterday I had leeches set behind my ears for it, which has done but little good, so that it mends but slowly, and one of my eyes being again sore, I am fain to write this at so many times, that I fear you will make but ill sense of it) and will come to day to see me, but desired an hour when there was least company; so that I imagine she will speak something of herself; and that which inclines me the more to this opinion is, that she has sent for lord Halifax, and was shut up in her chamber about business with him, and others, the whole morning: I shall give you an account of this before I seal up my letter: in the mean while I shall tell you, that having had a letter from M. Schulemburgh, about his money, without which, he and M. des Marests both write me word, his credit is lost. I spoke of it this morning, at the cabinet council, and lord Nott. had also a letter from Mr. Eccart, about the same. Lord Marlborough took great care to shew that honour was engaged, and a great many more consequences of it. I suppose an exact account is given you of all this, so that I need say no more, but that I hope I have done well to press it as much as may be: 'tis resolved to give an answer next Tuesday. Lord Fitzharding having at present no estate in Somersetshire, and not living there, fears he may not be so able to serve you as he ought, therefore, if you please, will be content with the custos rotulorum, without the lieutenancy: upon this occasion I shall only name one who desired it; though I told him I was engaged to speak for another, that is the D. of Bolton, who I think will lose nothing for want of asking: but upon my answer, he told me it was not for himself, but

but his ſon Wincheſter, he would have it. The Q. Dow. has been here, but did not ſtay a moment, nor ſpake two words; ſince ſhe went I have been in the garden, and find my face pretty well; but it is now candlelight, therefore I dare ſay no more. I have ſtill the ſame complaint to make, that I have not time to cry, which would a little eaſe my heart; but I hope in God I ſhall have ſuch news from you as will give me no reaſon; yet your abſence is enough, but ſince it pleaſes God I muſt have patience; do but continue to love me, and I can bear all things elſe with eaſe.

I ſend you the letter of M. D. Ablancourt, becauſe I don't know who he means, and 'tis ſo ſhort 'twill take you up no time to read.

Lord Marlborough tells me 'tis almoſt time to think of proroguing the parliament; I wiſh you would give yourſelf the trouble to write your mind very particularly upon the ſubject.

Queen Mary to King William—upon the arrival of the French fleet on the Coaſt.

Whitehall, the $\frac{\text{July 2,}}{\text{22 June,}}$ 1690, half 11 at night.

THE news which is come to-night of the French fleet being upon the coaſt, makes it thought neceſſary to write to you both ways; and I, that you may ſee how matters ſtand in my heart, prepare a letter for each. I think lord Torrington has made no haſte: and I cannot tell whether his being ſick, and ſtaying for lord Pembroke's regiment, will be a ſufficient excuſe: but I will not take up your time with my reaſonings, I ſhall only tell you, that I am ſo little afraid, that I begin to fear I have not ſenſe enough to apprehend the danger; for whether it threatens Ireland, or this place, to me 'tis much at one, as to the fear; for as much a coward as you think me, I fear more for your dear perſon than my poor carcaſs. I know who is moſt neceſſary in the world. What I fear moſt at pre-

ſent is not hearing from you. Love me whatever happens, and be aſſured I am ever intirely yours till death.

Queen Mary to King William—upon the ſame ſubject.

Whitehall, the $\frac{2 \text{ July,}}{22 \text{ June,}}$ 1690, at half 10 at night.

AS I was ready to go into my bed, lord Nott. came and brought me a letter, of which he is going to give you an account; for my own part, I ſhall ſay nothing to it, but that I truſt God will preſerve us, you where you are, and poor I here. Methinks lord Torrington has made no haſte; they ſay he ſtays for lord Pembroke's regiment: he alſo has not been very quick, for he received it at 8 this evening, and kept it till now, that he has ſent it open to lord Nott. I thank God I am not much afraid; I think too little; which makes me fear 'tis want of apprehending the danger. That which troubles me moſt of all things is your abſence and the fear I am in, ſomething may be done to hinder us from hearing from you; in that caſe I don't know what will become of us. I ſtill truſt in God, who is our only help. Farewell, I will trouble you with no more, but only deſire you, whatſoever happens, to love me as I ſhall you to death.

Queen Mary to King William—upon the ſame ſubject.

Whitehall $\frac{\text{July 4.}}{\text{June 24,}}$ 1690.

SINCE I writ to you about the coming of the French fleet upon the coaſt, the lords have been very buſy; I ſhall not go about to give you an account of things, but ſhall tell you ſome particular paſſages: One happened to day, at the great council, where I was by their advice, and when they had reſolved to ſeize upon ſuſpected perſons, in naming them, Sir H. Capel would have ſaid ſomething for lord Clarendon (whoſe firſt wife you know was his ſiſter); every body ſtared

ſtared at him, but nobody preparing to anſwer, which I thought they would not do may be in my regard, I ventured to ſpeak, and tell ſir H. Cap. that I believed every body knew as I did, that there was too much againſt him to leave him out of the liſt that was making: I can't tell if I ought to have ſaid this, but when I knew your mind upon it, and had ſeen his letter, I believed it is as neceſſary he ſhould be clapt up as any, and therefore thought myſelf obliged to ſay ſo; but as I do not know when I ought to ſpeak, and when not, I am as ſilent as can be, and if I have done it now mal a propos, I am ſorry, but I could not help it, though at the ſame time I muſt own, I am ſorryer, than it may be will be believed, for him, finding the Dutch proverb true which you know, but I ſhould ſpoil in writing. Lord Monmouth and his officers were with me yeſterday, with their declaration as they call it, about which I writ to you before. I hope the eaſterly wind is the only cauſe I do not hear from you which I am very impatient for now, and when I conſider that you may be got a great way if you began to march laſt Thurſday, I am in a million of fears, not knowing when you may be in danger: that alone is enough to make me the greateſt pain imaginable, and in compariſon of which all things elſe are not to be named, yet by a letter from lord Torrington, dated at 3 yeſterday in the afternoon, I ſee he thought this day was like to decide a great deal there. I cannot but be in pain, it may be I do not reaſon juſt upon the matter, but I fear beſides the diſheartening many people, the loſs of a battle would be ſuch an encouragement to diſaffected ones, that might put things here in diſorder, which in your abſence, would be a terrible thing, but I thank God I truſt in him and that is really the only conſolation I have. I was laſt night at Highpark for the firſt time ſince you went: it ſwarmed with thoſe who are now ordered to be clapt up. Yeſterday lord Fev. came to lord Nott. to tell him he had put Q. D. off of the Hamburgh voyage; but ſhe would go to the Bath; after which he came again, and ſaid that

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ſeeing it might now be inconvenient to have guards there, ſhe deſired to go to Iſlington, but lord Marl. deſired the anſwer might not be given a day or two till we heard ſomething of the ſucceſs of the fleet. Since I have writ this, I was called out to lord Nott. who brought me your dear letter of the $\frac{28}{18}$ h, which is ſo welcome that I cannot expreſs it, eſpecially becauſe you pity me, which I like and deſire from you, and you only. As for the building, I fear there will be many obſtacles; for I ſpoke to ſir J. Lowther this very day, and hear ſo much uſe for money, and find ſo little, that I cannot tell whether that of Hampton-court will not be a little the worſe for it, eſpecially ſince the French are in the channel, and at preſent between Portland and us, from whence the ſtone muſt come; but in a day or two, I hope to give you a more certain account, this being only my own conjecture. God be praiſed that you are well I hope in his mercy he will continue it. I have been obliged to write this evening to M. Schulemberg to deſire him to advance money for the ſix regiments to march, which they ſay is abſolutely neceſſary for your ſervice as well as honour. The lords of the treaſury have made me pawn my word for it, and that tomorrow 20,000 pounds will be paid him. It is now candle light, and I dare ſay no more but that I am ever and entirely yours.

Queen Mary to king William.——Fears about lord Torrington.—Complaints of being neglected by the miniſters.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{July 6,}}{\text{June 26,}}$ 1690.

BY this expreſs I ſhall write freely and tell you what great ſuſpicions encreaſe continually of major Wildman. Lord Nottingham I believe will by the ſame write to ſir R. Southwell, that upon any extraordinary thing which be neceſſary to be kept a ſecret, he ſhould ſend him an expreſs directed immediately to him. It would be too long to tell you all the reaſons of ſuſpi-

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cion, but this one inſtance I will give, that ſince your going from hence there is not one word come from Scotland, neither from lord Melvin, nor colonel Mackay, to lord Marborough, which methinks ſeems unaccountable, though it is this day 3 weeks ſince lord Nottingham writ preſſingly for a ſpeedy anſwer: Yet lord Monmouth has letters, and give intelligence which does not always prove true. I told lord Nottingham that I thought the only way was to ſend an expreſs, that he write to lord Melvin, and lord Marlborough to Mackay, and let them know they have not once heard from them. Upon this lord Preſident and lord Nottingham deſired I would ſign letters to the governors of Berwick and Carliſle, not to let any perſons go by who had not a paſs, that they ſhould ſtop the mails, and ſend word how many were come from thence in this time. This I have done, and the expreſs is to be immediately ſent away. I ever fear not doing well, and truſt to what nobody ſays but you, therefore hope it will have your approbation. It is a ſtrange thing, that laſt night ſir R. Holmes writ to lord Nott. and Mr. Blaithwait both, that the fleets were briſkly engaged, which he could ſee from the hills, which letter was writ at 6 yeſterday morning, ſince which we have not a word from him; but another to ſir H. Goodricke from Portſmouth, dated at 3 in the afternoon, aſſures then there had been no engagement, but ſome ſhooting between the ſcouts. What to think of this nobody knows, but it ſeems to me every one is afraid of themſelves, for ſir R. H. deſires mightily ſome ſuccours, or elſe the Iſle of Wight is loſt. Lord Bath is very backward in going down, but with much ado he ſends his ſon, who only ſays he ſtays for a letter of mine, which is ſigned this morning, to impower him to command at Plymouth in his father's abſence, which he tells me you promiſed before you went, and it is upon your leave lord Bath pretends to ſtay here till the term is over; but I told him I ſuppoſed you had not foreſeen the French being ſo near. D. of Bol-

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ton alſo tells me laſt night, you had given him leave to raiſe ſome horſe volunteers for which he ſhould have had a commiſſion, but that you went away, therefore he would have me give it; but I put it off; and lord Marlborough adviſes me not to give it. Lord Preſident ſome time ſince told me the ſame thing, but I will not give any poſitive anſwer till you ſend me your directions. I muſt alſo give you an account of what lord Nott. told me yeſterday; he ſaid lord Stuard was very angry at lord Torrington's deferring the fight, and propoſed ſomebody ſhould be joined in commiſſion with him. But that the other lords ſaid cou d not be done, ſo lord Monmouth offered to take one whoſe name I have forgot; he is newly made I think commiſſioner of the navy, and as lord Nottingham tells me, you had thoughts of having him command the fleet if lord Torrington had not: This man lord Monmouth propoſed to take and go together on board lord Torrington's ſhip as volunteers, but with a commiſſion about them to command in caſe he ſhould be killed. I told lord Nott. I was not willing to grant any commiſſion of that nature, not knowing whether you had ever had any thought of that kind, ſo that I thought he was only to be thankt for his offer; I added that I could not think it proper, that he being one of the 9 you had named ſhould be ſent away, upon which he laughed and ſaid, that was the greateſt compliment I could make him, to ſay I could not uſe his arms, having need of his counſell. I ſuppoſe they are not very good friends, but I ſaid it really as I meant, and beſides to hinder propoſitions of this kind for Mr. Ruſſell; for I ſee lord Carmarthen has upon ſeveral occaſions to me alone, mentioned the ſending Mr. Ruſſell, and I believe it was only to be rid of him; for my part after what you told me of all the 9, I ſhould be very ſorry to have him from hence. Lord M. indeed I think might as well be ſpared, but I do not think it was your intention any of thoſe 9 ſhould be out of the way; I deſire you would

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ſay ſomething to this that I may know your mind in caſe of neceſſity; and indeed it would be well it was known alſo in lord Torrington's regard, for he may dye as well as another man: And now I have named Mr. Ruſſell, I muſt tell you that at your firſt going, he did not come to me, nor I believe to this hour, would not have aſked to have ſpoke with me, had not I told lady Ruſſell one day, I deſired it. When he came I told him freely that I deſired to ſee him ſometimes, for being a ſtranger to buſineſs I was afraid of being too much led or perſuaded by one party. He ſaid he was very glad to find me of that mind, and aſſured me ſince I gave him that liberty, he would come when he ſaw occaſion, though he would not be troubleſome. I hope I did not do amiſs in this, and indeed I ſaw at that time nobody but lord Preſident, and was afraid of myſelf. Lord Carmarthen is upon all occaſions afraid of giving me too much trouble, and thinks by little and little to do all; every one ſee how little I know of buſineſs, and therefore I believe, will be apt to do as much as they can. Lord Marlborough adviſed me to reſolve to be preſent as often as was poſſible, out of what intention I cannot judge, but I find they meet often at the ſecretary's office, and do not take much pains to give me an account. This I thought fitt to tell you, pray be ſo kind to anſwer me as particular as you can. Queen D. has been to take her leave, in order to going to Hammerſmith, where ſhe will ſtay till ſhe can go for Windſor. I have tired you with this long letter, and it is now ſtayed for; I ſhall ſay no more, but beg you to believe it impoſſible to love more than I do, don't love me leſſe.

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Queen Mary to King William, on lord Torrington's declining to fight.——Lord Monmouth offers to go to the fleet.——Suspicions of him.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{July 8.}}{\text{June 28}}$ 1690, at 8 o'clock in the morning.

SEeing I cannot always write when I will, I must do it when I can, and that upon some things which happened yesterday; as for lord Torrington's letter you will have an account of that and the answer from lord Nott. I shall tell you as far as I could judge what the others did. Lord Carmarthen was with me when lord Nott. brought the letter; he was mighty hot upon sending Mr. Russel down to the fleet; I confess I saw, as I thought, the ill consequence of that, having heard you say they were not good friends, and believing lord Torrington being in the post he is in, and of his humour, ought not to be provoked; besides, I believe lord President was willing to be rid of Mr. R. and I had no mind to that; so that I said what I could against it, and found most of the lords of my mind when they met, but lord Monmouth was not with them. Mr. Russel drew up a pretty sharp letter for us to sign; but it was softened, and the only dispute was, whether he should have a positive order to fight: at last it was wrote in such terms as you will see, to which all agreed, but lord Steward, who said it was his duty to tell his thoughts upon a subject of this consequence, which was, that he believed it very dangerous to trust lord Torrington with the fate of three kingdoms, (this was his expression) and that he was absolutely of opinion, that some other should be joined in commission with him; to which Mr. Russel answered, you must send for him prisoner then; and all the rest concluded it would breed too much disturbance in the sight of the enemy, and would be of dangerous consequence. So the letter was signed, and lord Nott. writ another letter, in which he told him our other accounts

counts we have received of the fleets from the Isle of Wight. I was no sooner in bed but lord Nott. came to me from the lords, who were most of them still at his office, and where lord Monmouth was come very late, but time enough to know all. He offered his service immediately to go down post to Portsmouth, so the admiralty would give him the commission of a captain, and fit out the best ship there, which he believes he can do with more speed than another, with which he will join lord Torrington; and being in a great passion, swears he will never come back more if they do not fight: upon his earnest desire, and the approbation of the lords that were present, lord Nott. came up to ask my consent. I askt who was there, and finding four besides lord Monmouth and lord Nott. of which I remember but three, which were lord President, lord Steward, and sir John Lowther, the fourth was either lord Pemb. or lord Marl. I thought in myself they were two thirds of the committee, so would carry it if it were put to the vote; therefore, seeing they were as earnest as he for it, I thought I might consent; besides, I own to you I had a thought immediately upon it, which I would not own, tho' I find some of them have the same, that the lemon letters, which I suppose you have heard of, which comes so constantly and are so very exact, the last of which told even the debates of the committee as well as if one of the lords themselves had writ them; this I think looks somewhat odd, and I believe makes many forward for this expedition; and for my own part, I believe he may be the best spared of the company; tho' I think it a little irregularity, yet I hope you will excuse it, and nobody else can find fault.

10. at night. Since my writing this, there has come a great deal of news. As I was going to the cabinet council in the morning, sir Wm. Lockhart came with a letter from the committee there: when we rose, lord Steward told me, that he had been speaking to Mr. Sefeuk upon the affairs of the times,

times, who had made great complaint of his uſage, and ſaid ſo much, that he fancies he may turn informer; I doubted, but adviſed him to continue his diſcourſe, as though by chance, while I ſhould write you word to know how far you would have him engage, which I have now done, and deſire your anſwer. Lord Monmouth was there, after having been in the city, where he has found one major Born, I think his name is, who has the commiſſion of captain, and not himſelf, he deſiring his intentions may be kept as ſecret as may be, leſt he ſhould come too late; in the mean while, his regiment's being at Portſmouth is the pretence. He made great profeſſions at parting, and deſired me to believe there are ſome great deſigns. We had another lemon letter, with things ſo particular, that none but ſome of the lords could know them, eſpecially things that were done at the office late laſt night; upon which all ſides are of the ſame mind. Before I went out of the room, I received your dear letter from Loughbricklin, but I cannot expreſs what I then felt, and ſtill feel, at the thoughts that now it may be you are ready to give battle, or have done it. My heart is ready to burſt. I can ſay nothing, but pray to God for you. This has waked me who was almoſt aſleep, and almoſt puts me out of any poſſibility of ſaying any more, yet I muſt ſtrive with my heart to tell you, that this afternoon the ill news of the battle of Fleury came; I had a letter from the prince of Waldec, with a copy of the account he ſent you, ſo that I can ſay nothing, but that God, in whoſe hands all events only are, knows beſt why he has ordered it ſo, and to him we muſt ſubmit. This evening there has been a perſon with me, from whom you heard at Cheſter, (probably earl of Broadalbin) and whom you there ordered to come to me, as he ſays; he believes you will know him by this, and will by no means be named, and, what is worſe, will name nobody, ſo that I fear there is not much good to be done, yet I won't give over ſo. I muſt end my letter, for my eyes are at preſent

ſent in ſomewhat a worſe condition than before I received your letter: my impatience for another from you is as great as my love, which will not end but with my life, which is very uneaſy to me at preſent; but I truſt in God, who alone can preſerve you and comfort me.

Queen Mary to King William —— upon the defeat at Beachy-head.

Whitehall, July the $\frac{12}{22}$, 1690, 7 in the morning.

I AM ſorry there is not as pleaſing news to ſend you from hence, as what I had laſt from you; I would not write laſt night by the poſt, being aſſured the meſſenger this morning ſhould overtake him, before they came to Hylake. Here has been great things done, but that ſo unanimouſly, that I hope when you have an exact account from lord Nott. you will approve of it. I muſt confeſs I think they were in the right, but if I had not, I ſhould have ſubmitted my judgment where I ſaw all of a mind. What lord Torrington can ſay for himſelf I know not, but I believe he will never be forgiven here; the letters from the fleet, before and ſince the engagement, ſhew ſufficiently he was the only man there had no mind to fight, and his not doing it was attributed to orders from hence: thoſe which have been ſent and obeyed have had but very ill ſucceſs, the news of which is come this morning. I will not ſtop the meſſenger with ſtaying for my letter, and 'tis unneceſſary for me to ſay much, only as to the part of ſending Mr. Ruſſel away. I believe it was a great irregularity, and, for my own part, I was ſorry to miſs him here, after what you told me, and the fear I am in of being impoſed upon, but all were for it, and I could ſay nothing againſt it: I confeſs I was as ſorry lord Monmouth came ſo ſoon back, for all agree in the ſame opinion of him. Mr. Ruſſel was overtaken before he came to Canterbury, ſo the nine are again together,

gether. As for the ill ſucceſs at ſea, I am more concerned for the honour of the nation than any thing elſe; but I think it has pleaſed God to puniſh them juſtly, for they really talkt as if it were impoſſible they ſhould be beaten, which looks too much like truſting in the arm of fleſh: I pray God we may no more deſerve the puniſhment; that ſame God who has done ſo much, can ſtill do what is beſt, and I truſt he will do more than we deſerve. This afternoon I am to go to the great council, to take order about the prorogation of the parliament, according to your orders. I long to hear again from you, which is my only comfort. I fear this news may give courage to thoſe who retired before; but God can diſappoint them all, and I hope will take care of his own cauſe: he of his mercy ſend us a happy meeting again, that will be a happineſs to me beyond all others, loving you more than my life.

Remark.] The nine, often mentioned in theſe letters were, the lords Pembroke, Devonſhire, Marlborough, Godolphin, Caermarthen, Nottingham, Monmouth, admiral Ruſſel, and ſir John Lowther.

Queen Mary to king William on the ſame occaſion.—Diſputes in council who ſhould go down to the fleet.—Suſpicions of lord Monmouth.

Whitehall, July $\frac{13}{3}$, 1690.

IF you knew in what fear I am that my letter I writ yeſterday morning did not overtake the poſt, you would pity me; for though it is but one day's difference, yet I would not for any thing ſeem to have miſs'd an opportunity of writing to you; and indeed as ſleepy as I was a Tueſday night, I would have writ had not lord Nott. aſſured me the meſſage ſhould follow the next morning early, and ſo he was certain it would

would come time enough; but when the letter came in from lord Torrington, and what was to be done being thought neceſſary to acquaint you with, he ſtopt the meſſenger without telling me. This I trouble you with for my own juſtification, and I hope if the poſt ſhould have got long before the meſſenger, you will forgive me; I ſhall never be ſo careleſs more; for I own it was that too much, and the care of my eyes ſhall never more hinder me, as you will ſee by this that I write at a time when it does them no good. As for what has been done this morning you will have a particular account; I ſhall only acquaint you with my part in it. When the lords had unanimouſly agreed to ſend two of their number, and would have me chooſe them, I deſired help, and that they would name; upon which lord Preſident offered his ſervice. Lord Monmouth ſaid he believed he might be excuſed, upon his relation to lord Torrington, eſpecially ſince they were not to command the fleet: Mr. Ruſſel ſaid he had ſerved long under him, and it would ſeem ſomething indecent in him to be forward in offering his ſervice in this particular, though there was nothing which could be thought fit but he would do, yet he ſuppoſed others might as well. The reſt offered except lord Nott. and lord Marl. who ſaid afterwards they thought it would be ridiculous in them to do it. Upon this I ventured to give my own judgment, for the firſt time, and choſe lord Devonſhire and lord Pemb. I thought I could not fail in this, for there was not much choice, and theſe ſeemed the moſt proper to me upon what I had heard them ſay, and the manner they ſaid it. I told lord Preſident, when I named them, that he could not be ſpared, but I ſaw he looked ill ſatisfied; ſo that when the council was up I ſpoke to him, and bid him remember how neceſſary he was; he ſaid he did not look on himſelf as ſo tied, but he might go away upon occaſions. I told him if he were not by place, yet being the perſon you had told me whoſe advice I ſhould follow and rely the moſt on, I could not ſpare him.

There is another thing I muſt acquaint you with by the bye that I believe will anger him, which is that neither Mr. Hambden nor Mr. Pelham will ſign the docket for lady Plymouth's eight thouſand pounds: he complained to me; I promiſed to aſk them about it, which I have done, and both of them aſunder have told me the ſum was too great to be ſpared at preſent, when money is ſo much wanted, and indeed I think they are in the right. I hope you will let me know your mind upon it; but they ſay ſir Stephen Fox owns to have ſigned it by ſurprize, and is of their mind: the only thing I could ſay to this was, that you had ſigned the warrant before you went, which I thought was enough; but they ſay they had not time to repreſent it to you, and would only take time to do ſo: but to return to this morning. I ſpoke alſo to lord Monmouth, who I ſaw was diſſatisfied; and told him I knew it was not fit for him to go to ſea, who was a ſeaman, without having the command; and that, he heard, was by all agreed for the preſent, ſir John Aſhby ſhould have, for an encouragement to the reſt to behave well, as he had done in this occaſion: he told me he thought he had reaſon to expect it, becauſe you once had thoughts of ſending him to command, but he was content with any thing as he ſaid; as for that I never heard you ſay it, and if you knew what I ſhall tell you, if I ever live to ſee you, you will wonder. I make many compliments to lord Steward, and ſome fewer to lord Pembroke. By advice I writ a letter to admiral Evertzen; I forgot to tell you I did ſo by Mr. Ruſſell, and then not knowing he ſpoke Engliſh, with much ado I writ it in Dutch, ſo as I believe he could have underſtood me, but 'tis come back to be burnt. Lord Shrewſbury was at my dinner; I told him I was glad to ſee him ſo well again; he ſaid he had been at Epſom for the air, or elſe he would have been here ſooner; he ſtayed not long but went away with Mr. Wharton, who I have not ſeen once at council, and but ſeldom any where. Lord Shrewſbury was again

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here at my supper, and as I thought took pains to talk, which I did to him as formerly by your directions. Though by my letter it may be you would not think me so much in pain as I am, yet I must tell you I am very much so, but not for what lord Monmouth would have me; he daily tells me of the great dangers we are in, and now has a mind to be sent to Holland (of which you will hear either this or the next post). I see every one is inclined to it for a reason I have mentioned before; but to let that pass I must tell you again how he endeavours to fright me, and indeed things have but a melancholy prospect; but I am fully persuaded God will do some great thing or other, and it may be, when human means fail, he will shew his power: this makes me, that I cannot be so much afraid as it may be I have reason for; but that which makes me in pain is for fear what is done may not please you. I am sure it is my chief desire, but you know I must do what others think fit, and I think they all desire as much as may be to act according to your mind. I long to hear from you, and know in what we have failed; for my own part, if I do any thing that you don't like, 'tis my misfortune and not my fault; for I love you more than my life, and desire only to please you.

Queen Mary to King William —— her fondness for him.

Whitehall, July the $\frac{15}{5}$, 1690.

THIS is only to tell you I have received yours of the 28th, Old Stile, which puts me in many troubles that I shall not trouble you with at present; to-morrow night an express shall go to you that cannot possibly be dispatched to-night, and I am not sorry; for at this time I dare say but little by candle-light, and 'tis to-morrow the first Sunday of the month. I have really hardly had time to say my prayers, and was feign to run away to Kensigton, where I had three hours of quiet, which was more than I have had to-

gether ſince I ſaw you. That place made me think how happy I was there when I had your dear company; but now —— I will ſay no more, for I ſhall hurt my own eyes, which I want more now than ever. Adieu; think of me, and love me as much as I ſhall you, who I love more than my life. I ſhould have ſent this laſt poſt; but not ſeeing Madame Nienhuys, hindered me then, and makes me ſend it you now, which I hope you will excuſe.

Queen Mary to King William on his being wounded.—— Diſputes about the command of the fleet.

Whitehall, July $\frac{15}{8}$, 1690.

I CAN never give God thanks enough as long as I live for your preſervation; I hope in his mercy that this is a ſign he preſerves you to finiſh the work he has begun by you; but I hope it may be a warning to you, to let you ſee you are expoſed to as many accidents as others; and though it has pleaſed God to keep you once in ſo viſible a manner, yet you muſt forgive me if I tell you that I ſhould think it a tempting God to venture again without a great neceſſity: I know what I ſay of this kind will be attributed to fear; I own I have a great deal for your dear perſon, yet I hope I am not unreaſonable upon the ſubject, for I do truſt in God, and he is pleaſed every day to confirm me more and more in the confidence I have in him; yet my fears are not leſs, ſince I cannot tell, if it ſhould be his will to ſuffer you to come to harm for our ſins, and when that might happen: for though God is able, yet many times he puniſhes the ſins of a nation as it ſeems good in his ſight. Your writing me word how ſoon you hoped to ſend me good news, ſhews me how ſoon you thought there might be ſome action, and that thought put me in perpetual pain. This morning when I heard the expreſs was come, before lord Nott. came up, I was taken with a trembling for fear, which has hardly left me yet, and

and I really dont know what I do. Your letter came juſt before I went to chapell; and though the firſt thing lord Notting. told me was, that you were very well, yet the thoughts that you expoſe yourſelf thus to danger, fright me out of my wits, and make me not able to keep my trouble to myſelf: but for God's ſake let me beg you to take more care for the time to come; conſider what depends upon your ſafety; there are ſo many more important things than myſelf, that I think I am not worthy naming among them. But it may be the worſt will be over before this time, ſo that I will ſay no more. I did not anſwer your letter by the poſt laſt night, becauſe the expreſs could not be diſpatched; and I believe more hindrances are come, for lord Steward and lord Pembroke write word they will be here to night; but I can ſay very little upon the ſubject at preſent, for really I had my head and heart ſo full of you, I could mind nothing elſe.

It is now paſt 10 o'clock; I don't tell it you for an excuſe, for I am not ſleepy; my impatience is too great to hear from you again, that I am not maſter of it, nor indeed of myſelf; ſo that you muſt excuſe me from ſaying more than is juſt neceſſary. Lord Nott. will give you an account of all that has been done. Lord Carmarthen will write to you about a thing he has put in my head, and ſince I thought of it, I only fear that, and nothing elſe: I deſired he would write it himſelf, believing what he ſaid would have more weight with you than if it came from me, for you would believe I ſpoke moſt out of ſelf-intereſt. I wiſh to God he could prevail. The lords are come back from the fleet, of that I leave alſo lord Nott. to write; but I have undertook to ſay another thing to you, which is about who ſhall command it, for I find every body is ſo animated againſt lord Torrington that 'tis not to be imagined; whether you will think fitt to confine him after his behaviour, I don't know, but all the lords believe you will not. Lord Monmouth tells me himſelf that he has reaſon to expect the command of it, upon which I told

him that I ſhould not undertake to pitch upon any body; it was a thing would allow us time enough to know your pleaſure, and I thought it of too great conſequence to be reſolved of by any here, but that I ſhould write to you to know your will. After this I believed that if it was mentioned in the committee, it might anger him too much if any elſe ſhould be named; therefore I forbid it, and told lord Nott. he ſhould write to you in general, and I would name thoſe who ſhould be named to me. I have not had time nor opportunity to ſpeak myſelf to Mr. Ruſſell about it; but I am told he declines it; now whether that may be only modeſty, I cannot tell. The others which they name, are ſir Richard Haddick and ſir John Aſhby; the firſt of theſe, ſays, he wiſhes it might be put in commiſſion of three perſons, whereof two might be ſeamen, and the 3d ſome perſon of quality. Somebody named lord Pembroke for the figure he might make, and ſir R. Haddick and ſir J. Aſhby to be joined with him; others would have the duke of Grafton put in inſtead of lord Pembroke, that he might be encouraged for his behaviour, which they ſay was very brave in this laſt buſineſs, and alſo learn, believing he will give his whole mind to it, and ſo in time be good for ſomething: Others are for having Mr. Ruſſell put with the two before-mentioned; but it may be he would not like it. They tell me Shovell is the beſt officer of his age, but he is behind theſe other two; and ſo is Killigrew, who it is much wondered is not come yet, which ſome think a fault to be puniſhed, believing he has ſtaid for merchant ſhips. Theſe are all the names I remember, and when I have told them you I think I might as well have let it alone; it was only that they thought it better I ſhould put you in mind of any body elſe; you will pleaſe to reſolve what ſhall be done as ſoon as poſſible; I hope you will forgive me if I forget half what I have to ſay, for really my concern for you has got the maſtery, and I am not able to think of any thing elſe,

elſe, but that I love you in more abundance than my own life.

Queen Mary to K. William, on the battle of the Boyne.—Singular picture of the Queen's mind.—Lord Monmouth's intrigues.

Whitehall, July 17, 1690.

HOW to begin this letter I don't know, or how ever to render God thanks enough for his mercys; indeed they are too great, if we look on our deſerts; but, as you ſay, 'tis his own cauſe: and ſince 'tis for the glory of his great name, we have no reaſon to fear but he will perfect what he has begun: for myſelf in particular, my heart is ſo full of joy and acknowledgement to that great God, who has preſerved you, and given you ſuch a victory, that I am unable to explain it. I beſeech him to give me grace to be ever ſenſible, as I ought, and that I and all may live ſuitable to ſuch a mercy as this is. I am ſorry the fleet has done no better, but 'tis God's providence, and we muſt not murmur, but wait with patience to ſee the event. I was yeſterday out of my ſenſes with trouble, I am now almoſt ſo with joy, ſo that I can't really as yet tell what I have to ſay to you, by this bearer, who is impatient to return. I hope in God, by the afternoon, to be in a condition of ſenſe enough to ſay much more, but for the preſent I am not. When I writ the foregoing part of this, it was in the morning, ſoon after I had received yours, and now 'tis 4 in the afternoon; but I am not yet come to myſelf, and fear I ſhall loſe this opportunity of writing all my mind, for I am ſtill in ſuch a confuſion of thoughts, that I ſcarce know what to ſay, but I hope in God you will now readily conſent to what lord Preſident wrote laſt night, for methinks there is nothing more for you to do. I will haſten Kenſington as much as it's poſſible, and I will alſo get ready for you here, for I will hope you may come before that is done. I muſt put you in mind of

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one thing, believing it now the ſeaſon, which is, that you wou'd take care of the church in Ireland. Every body agrees that it is the worſt in Chriſtendom: there are now biſhopricks vacant, and other things, I beg you would take time to conſider who you will fill them with. You will forgive me that I trouble you with this now, but I hope you will take care of thoſe things which are of ſo great conſequence as to religion, which I am ſure will be more your care every day, now that it has pleaſed God ſtill to bleſs you with ſucceſs. I think I have told you before, how impatient I am to hear how you approve what has been done here; I have but little part in it myſelf, but I long to hear how others have pleaſed you. I am very uneaſie in one thing, which is want of ſomebody to ſpeake my mind freely to, for it's a great conſtraint to think and be ſilent, and there is ſo much matter that I am one of Solomon's fools, who am ready to burſt. I believe lord Preſident and lord Nott. agree very well, tho' I believe the firſt pretends to govern all; and I ſee the other is always ready to yield to him, and ſeems to me to have a great deal of deference for him; whether they always agreed or not I can't tell. Lord Marleborough is much with them, and loſes no opportunity of coming upon all occaſions with the others. As yet I have not found them differ, or at leaſt ſo little, that I was ſurprized to find it ſo, I mean the whole nine; for it has never come to put any thing to the vote, but I attribute that to the great danger, I believe all have apprehended, which has made them of a mind. The three I named have all the ſame opinion of lord Monmouth, that he tells all to Major Wildman, and think ſeveral letters we have had, which I believe I mentioned before, were writt by the laſt. I was unwilling to believe this, and thought there might be ſomething of a party in it, till I aſked Mr. Ruſſel what he thought of thoſe letters, who told me, that certainly they were writt by Wildman. I aſk'd what could be the meaning; he ſaid, to amuſe us, or to give ſuſpicion that ſome of the company betrayed us; for

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he ſaid Wildman was of the commonwealth party, and his whole deſign was to make ſtirs, in hopes by that means to bring it about; and he knew lord Monmouth had no reſerve for him, which made him glad with all his heart he was gone (that was when he was ſent to Portſmouth.) This is their opinion, and indeed is now mine; for I ſee plainly that while he was away, there came none of theſe letters. Wildman ſaid the people were gone, but now they begin to come again; and I had a converſation with lord Monmouth t'other morning, in which he ſaid what a misfortune it was that things went thus ill, which was certainly by the faults of thoſe who were in truſt; that it was a melancholy thing to the nation to ſee themſelves ſo thrown away; and to ſpeake plain, ſaid he, do you not ſee how all you do is known, that what is ſaid one day in the cabinett councill is wrote next day to France; for my part, ſaid he, I muſt ſpeake plainly, I have a great deal of reaſon to eſteem lord Nott. I don't believe 'tis he, but 'tis ſome in his office; then he fell upon Mr. Blaithwit. I owned I wondered why you wou'd let him ſerve here, ſince he wou'd not go with you, but I ſaid I ſuppoſed you knew why you did it; and when he began to talk high of ill adminiſtration, I told him in the ſame freedom he ſeemed to ſpeake to me, that I found it very ſtrange you were not thought fitt to chooſe your own miniſters; that they had already removed lord Halifax, the ſame endeavours were uſed for lord Carmarthen, and wou'd they now begin to have a bout at lord Nott. too; it wou'd ſhow they wou'd pretend ever to controll the King in his choiſe, which, if I were he, I wou'd not ſufferr, but wou'd make uſe of whom I pleaſed. I can't tell if I did well or no in this, but in the free way we were of ſpeaking, I cou'd not help it: upon this he ſaid, he had indeed been an enemy to lord Halifax, but he had done what he could to ſave lord Carmarthen, out of perſonal friendſhip, as well as becauſe he believed him firm to our intereſt: upon which I took occaſion to remember my obligations to him upon the account

count of our marriage, from which he ſtill went on, that he thought it neceſſary the nation ſhou'd be ſatisfied: I aſkt him if he thought it poſſible; he ſaid he cou'd tell me much about that ſubject, but we were called to the councill, ſo our diſcourſe ended for that time. As for lord Pem. I never ſee him but there: lord Cham. comes as little as he can with decency, and ſeldom ſpeaks; but he never viſits the cabinet councill. Lord Stuard, you know, will be a courtier among ladys: ſpeaking of him put me in mind that M. Seſak, before we went to cards, came and made me a very handſome compliment upon your victory and wound, and aſſured me, no man living wiſht us a longer and happier reign. But to return to that lord, who, (I think I have named all,) I muſt ſay once my opinion, that lord Nott. ſeems to be very hearty in all affairs; and, to my thinking, appears to be ſincere, tho' he does not take much pains to perſwade me of it, upon all occaſions, as others do; for he never ſpoke but once of himſelf, yet I confeſs I incline to have a good opinion of him; it may be his formal, grave look deceives me; he brought me your letter yeſterday, and I could not hold, ſo he ſaw me cry, which I have hindered myſelf, from before every body till then, that it was impoſſible; and this morning, when I heard the joyfull news from Mr. Butler, I was in pain to know what was become of the late king, and durſt not aſk him; but when lord Nott. came, I did venture to do it, and I had the ſatisfaction to know he was ſafe. I know I need not beg you to lett him be taken care of, for I am confident you will for your own ſake; yet add that to all your kindneſs, and, for my ſake, let people know you would have no hurt come to his perſon. Forgive me this. The lords of the treaſury have deſired me, that if there is any thing to be done, I would hear them all. You gave me no directions in this, but to the contrary, ſo that I have declined it hitherto; but if I muſt ſign any warrant, it muſt come to it.

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I have writ this at ſo many times that I fear you will hardly make ſenſe of it. I long to hear what you will ſay to the propoſition that will be ſent you this night by the lords, and do flatter myſelf mightily with the hopes to ſee you, for which I am more impatient that can be expreſſed; loving you with a paſſion which cannot end but with my life.

Remark.] The propoſition from the lords to the King, and concerning which the marquis of Caermarthen afterwards wrote to him was, that he ſhould return.

Queen Mary to King William——has been teazed by lord Lincoln.

Whitehall, July the $\frac{18}{8}$, 1690.

BEING reſolved never to miſs a poſt, I write now to let you know I have received yours by Mr. Grey, who came at nine in the morning, and was dreſſing till one before he brought it; to-morrow I think to write again by him. Now, I ſhall only tell you I have been ſatisfied with the ſight of lord Lincoln, which I have ſo often wiſh'd for in vain: I met him as I came from prayers, with a hundred people at leaſt after him. I can't repreſent to you my ſurprize at ſo unexpected an object, and ſo ſtrange a one; but what he ſaid, was as much ſo if it were poſſible. He called lord preſident by name, and all in general who are in truſt, rogues; told me I muſt go back with him to the council to hear his complaint, which I think was againſt lord Torrington: he talked ſo like a madman that I anſwered him as calmly as I could, looking on him as ſuch; and ſo with much ado got from him. I ſhall ſay no more now, but that I am ſo ſleepy I can ſcarce ſee; but I ſhall live and die entirely yours.

Queen

Queen Mary to King William——Factions and ſuſpicions in council.

Whitehall, July the $\frac{10}{20}$, 1690.

I WROTE to you a Tueſday night by the poſt, only to ſhow that I would miſs no opportunity of doing it, and have kept Mr. Gray ever ſince, having nothing worth writing or troubling you with. I ſhall now begin with anſwering your letter by him, and thank God with all my ſoul for the continuance of your good ſucceſs, and hope that you will have no more to do but come back here, where you are wiſh'd for by all that love you or themſelves: I need not ſay moſt by me, it would be a wrong to me to ſuppoſe you doubt it. If the firſt part of your letter was extreme welcome, the next was not leſs ſo; for next to knowing your health and ſucceſs, that of your being ſatisfied with what has been done here is the beſt news, and till then I was very much in pain. You will ſee alſo that we have had the good fortune here to have done juſt as you would have had it yourſelf, in ſending Mr. Ruſſel down to the fleet; but that was prevented, as you will know before this. I told Mr. Ruſſel what your deſign was then, and aſked what I might write upon it now; he told me, he ſhould be always ready to ſerve you any way, and ſeemed mightily pleaſed with what I told him. I did not ſay it openly at the committee, becauſe I know how much lord Monmouth would have been troubled. But I told it lord preſident as you writ him word, and lord Nott. and lord Marl. It ſeems he ſtill wiſhes for a commiſſion to other people, and not to be alone. The day that I received yours by Mr. Gray, which was Tueſday noon, the great council was called extraordinarily, being thought fit to acquaint them with the good news: but ſeeing you had left me to the advice of the committee when to go, I aſk'd them in the morning if they thought it neceſſary, that for my own part

part I did not? lord preſident ſaid, No: and none elſe ſaid a word. But in the afternoon when the council was met, all began, it ſeems, to aſk if I came. Lord Preſident ſaid, No; upon which there were ſome who grumbled. Sir R. Howard made a formal ſpeech, wherein he hinted many things as if he thought it not reaſonable I ſhould not come, and was ſeconded by the D. of Bolton. In the mean while lord Stuart and lord Monmouth came to me to deſire me to come. I was ſurpriſed at it, for they ſent for me out of my cloſet. I will not trouble you with all they ſaid, but they were very preſſing; and lord Stuard told me, there were many there who abſolutely told him they would not ſpeak but before me; that they were privy counſellors, eſtabliſhed by law; and did not know why they ſhould be refuſed my preſence. I anſwered them at firſt as civilly as I could, and as calmly, but being much preſſed, I grew a little peeviſh, and told them, that between us I muſt own I thought it a humour in ſome there, which I did not think myſelf bound to pleaſe: for ſhould I come now for this, I ſhould at laſt be ſent for, when any body had a mind to it; and that I wondered they who had heard me in the morning ſay I would not come, ſhould now be ſo importunate: but all I could ſay would not ſatisfy them; and had not lord Nott. come in, I believe they would not have left me ſo ſoon. I cannot tell if I did well or no, but I think I did: this was the ſame day lord Lincoln was here, as I wrote you word before, and he ſat in the gallery, crying aloud, that five or ſix lords ſhut me up, and would let nobody elſe come near me, yet never aſk'd it all the while. Lord Nott. will give you an account of lord mayor's being called next day to the great council where I was, but I muſt needs obſerve that he came with his anſwer ready wrote, and pulled out his paper and read it, upon which many of thoſe who came with him look'd upon one another as amazed; and the more, becauſe lord preſident did not deſire it till Friday. Another thing happened

happened that I must tell: lord Nott. had secured lord Rosse, and now desired the council, he might be sent to the Tower as well as so many others. All consented. Duke of Bolton ask'd why? lord Nott. said, there was informations against him; and more, his own letters to sir John Cochran: upon which all said, a warrant should be drawn; but when it came to be signed, duke of Bolton would not, and hindered lord Devon by a whisper, and his son by a nod. Lord Montague would not sign it neither. If this be usual I can't tell, but methinks it ought not to be so. Upon this I must tell you that lord Monmouth came to Sir W. Lockhart, who told it me himself, and was very earnest for lord Rosse's being secured, as well as further discoveries about Ferguson; that he wondered how lord Melvill, who all the world knew had been in the Dissenters interest, would now go, and do any thing against them; that he ought in honour and conscience to hide their faults, and not discover them; and more to this purpose. He told me that he believed if sir James Montgomery came up, he would certainly endeavour to confound us by some lies, for he was very cunning and very malicious, and delighted in mischief (these were his words); and therefore he was confident, that instead of making useful discoveries, he would accuse persons whom he thought might do his party a mischief, though there was no likelihood of their joining. Last night lord Marlborough came to me, and made me an offer from lord Shrewsbury, lord Montague, lord Godolphin, Mr. Wharton, and Mr. Jepson, to raise 1200 men immediately at their own charges, so I would but give my word they should be reimbursed when it was convenient. He desired me I would propose it this morning at the committee, without naming the persons; but after I had had time to think upon it, I told him that I did not think it proper to tell things to the committee so by halves; they would ask how they could advise without knowing the persons; that many had offered, while all were unwilling to accept. He told me he had considered

dered it himself since, and found they could not be ready under six weeks, in which time either you would come yourself, or send some troops, and the danger would be over; so we resolved he should give them many thanks for their offer, and give that for a reason, and the only one of not accepting it. But I told him plainly that I did not doubt but you would approve of trusting any such thing in lord Shrewsbury's hands, yet I did not know if all else might be employed. I confess I did not like lord Montague, so he said indeed there were persons he believed you would mistrust, and named him. I said I could not tell particular persons, for I did not know them myself. He said they did not desire to have this known, and therefore he did not know if I would take notice of it to them; but he believed I would do well to do so to lord Shrewsbury. I was of his mind, and resolve when I have an opportunity for it to do so. I hope you will not disapprove of this, being my own act; I am most concerned; I need say nothing to you of the particulars of what was done this morning. Lord Nott. will tell you all, only I must say that I hope there is no harm done in stopping 25 of the 70,000 which was going to you, since it is so very necessary here; and I hope to have it made up before it can be wanted there. I was extreme loath to consent, but I must submit to others judgment; and in this I believe I was in the right to do so, though my inclination to do just what you would have me, is ever stronger. I have no more at present, and believe this letter is not so long as it is, though I have shortened it all I can, by saying as little as I possibly could upon each subject. You don't know how I please myself with the thoughts of seeing you here very soon, but I must tell you that it is impossible to be yet awhile at Kensington. Your closets here are also not in order, but there is no smoke in summer, and the air is much better than in another season. Pray let me have your orders, if not by yourself, then tell lord Portland, and let him write. I see I can hardly end, but I must force myself without

ſaying a word more but that I am ever yours, more than ever, if that be poſſible, and ſhall be ſo till death.

Queen Mary to King William.——Want of money.

Whitehall, July the $\frac{22}{12}$, 1690. at 11. at night.

YOU will excuſe me from anſwering your letter I received yeſterday morning, which was writ on ſunday laſt, when you know that I have been this morning at Hampton court, and back again by noon, and ever ſince have had one or other to ſpeak to me, of which I will give you an account when I have more time; now I ſhall only tell you, that things go on there very ſlowly; want of money and Portland ſtone, are the hindrances, and indeed in a time when there are ſuch preſſing neceſſitys I am almoſt aſhamed to ſpeak about it, and yet it is become ſo juſt a debt that it ought to be paid. I mean the privy ſeal which you paſſed long ago. Sir Ch. Littleton has ſent to me to offer to give up his commiſſion which I expect now, and am glad of, for reaſons too long to tell now: Pray ſend word who ſhall have the government, for it is judged neceſſary to be filled up as ſoon as may be. I fancy the joy at St. Patrick's church was greater than can be expreſt, and wiſh I had been with you. But though at a diſtance, none ever praiſed God ſo heartily for many reaſons, chiefly that of your wonderful deliverance, upon which event the Q. Dowager ſent lady Arlington to compliment me. I am now in my bed having bathed; and am ſo ſleepy I can ſay no more but that I am ever and entirely yours.

Queen Mary to King William.——Expects him over.

Whitehall, July the $\frac{23}{13}$, 1690.

I AM in ſo much hopes of your coming hither that I muſt flatter myſelf by the time this comes to you, you will be ready to leave Ireland; all my fear is the French

French ships which are going to St. George's channel, and are already at Kinsale; if those should hinder you what will become of me? I think the fright would take away my reason; but I hope the express which goes this evening to sir Cl. Shovel will come time enough to prevent any surprize, and I hope may do good; and that I may soon see you here, which is what I long extreamly for. This morning I received yours of the $\frac{1}{9}^{o}$ by which I am extream glad you still approved of what had been done. I have said nothing to Mr. Russell (indeed I have not seen him) nor don't intend to speak till I have your answer to my letter upon the subject, though I don't think what I write will make you change your mind, yet then you will be determined in your choice, and I shall not lose my labour. I have writ to day to Ad. Evertzen to desire him to come up, for I hear he makes difficulties to send his ships up to be repaired. I fear Mr. Harbord will have but ill success in his negociation by what you write. I told lord President what you bid me, and read part of your letter to him; but he is still of the same mind that the French have a design upon Portsmouth. I am the most impatient creature in the world for an answer about your coming, which I do hope will be a good one, and that I shall see you, and endeavour myself to let you see, if it be possible, that my heart is more yours than my own.

Queen Mary to King William.——Scotch affairs.——Her concern for religion.——offered 200,000 *l. if she would dissolve the parliament.*

Whitehall, July the $\frac{25}{15}$, 1690.

I HOPE I shall not be disappointed in my hopes of seeing you quickly, and indeed I do so flatter myself with it that I can hardly resolve to write any thing, believing it labour lost; yet now I must do it for fear, and it is better I should venture the writing to no purpose, than that I hazard your not knowing what I

have promiſed to acquaint you with; firſt, from ſir Wm. Lockhart, who begs you to conſider the want there is of horſe upon the borders of Scotland. He ſays M. G. Mackay is in the highlands, and will have work enough to do there, ſo that he can ſpare none to keep them in ſome order, who want it very much. I have the moſt lamentable letters in the world from lord Melville; I ſuppoſe you have ſo too; but I fancy he takes more care to hide his fear to you than me. I have been alſo deſired to beg you not to be too quick in parting with confiſcated eſtates, but conſider whether you will not keep ſome for public ſchools, to inſtruct the poor Iriſh; for my part, I muſt needs ſay that I think you would do very well if you would conſider what care can be taken of the poor ſouls there; and indeed, if you give me leave, I muſt tell you, I think the wonderfull deliverance and ſucceſs you have had ſhould oblige you to think upon doing what you can, for the advancement of true religion, and promoting the Goſpel.

I had yeſterday an offer made me of two hundred thouſand pounds, to be lent upon a note under my hand, that it ſhould be paid as ſoon as the parliament gave money, but it was only on this condition, that the parliament ſhould be diſſolved; I told lord Monmouth, who made me the propoſition, that was a thing I could not promiſe, it being of that conſequence, that though all the lords of the great council ſhould unanimouſly agree to, yet I would not venture upon it without knowing your pleaſure; therefore, unleſs they would lend ſome money (which is really moſt extreamly wanted) upon other terms, I muſt go without it; for I would not by any means engage for what I could not perform: we had beſides this, much diſcourſe, all which would be too long to trouble you with, only that he began to ſpeak of lord Shrewſbury (who by the way is gone to Tunbridge); he ſaid he ſaw he was concerned as well as his friends at what he had done, and he believed would be very glad to ſerve

you

you again; that he himſelf had obſerved you were unwilling to part with lord Shrewſbury; and now deſired to know if there was no way of reſtoring him. I aſkt if he had any to propoſe, but he ſaid he had no commiſſion to ſpeak this: he ſaid many extraordinary things in this diſcourſe, which I reſerve to tell you. I never write but what I think, others do not; ſo I ſhall do now, and muſt tell you I had writ to admiral Evertzen (by advice, as you may believe) to come up; he has been with me this very night, and though he will ſay nothing poſitive, nor blame lord Torrington, yet he ſays ſo much, that as unequal as the fleets were, had the Engliſh fought like the Dutch, they ſhould at leaſt have ſo ſhattered many of their ſhips, that they muſt have left the ſea for their own ſafety. Lord Nott. I ſuppoſe will let you know the good anſwer we have had from Holland. They have engaged me to go to Hyde-park, to ſee the militia drawn out next Monday. You may believe I go againſt my will. I ſtill muſt come back to my firſt ſaying, which is, that I do hope and flatter myſelf that you will be come back, if it can be with ſafety; I'm ſure if that can't be, I ſhall wiſh you may rather ſtay where you are, tho' I long never ſo much to ſee you, than that you ſhould venture your dear perſon, which is a thouſand times more ſo to me than my own ſelf, and ever will be ſo while I breath.

Queen Mary to King William.——expecting him over.

Whitehall, July $\frac{26}{15}$, 1690.

LORD BELOMONT torments me to write by his brother, which I do, though I have nothing to ſay more than what I wrote laſt night. I am allways glad of an opportunity of putting you in mind of me, tho' I hope 'tis not abſolutely neceſſary. All the news of the town yeſterday, was, that you were landed at Cheſter, pray God it were true, tho' I think there is no likelyhood of it, yet I thought it pleaſing, and the more, becauſe they have really ſaid ſeveral

things which have come to pass. I hope it may be so in this. I will not say more now, but that the bishop of Salisbury has made a long thundering sermon this morning, which he has been with me to desire to print, which I could not refuse, tho' I should not have ordered it, for reasons which I told him. I am extreme impatient of hearing from you, which I hope in God will be before I sleep this night; if not, I think I shall not rest; but if I shou'd meet with a disappointment of your not coming, I don't know what I shall do, for my desire of seeing you is equal to my love, which can not end but with my life.

Queen Mary to King William——his and her opinion of discords in council.

Whitehall, July $\frac{27}{17}$, 1690.

EVERY hour makes me more impatient to hear from you, and every thing I hear stir, I think brings me a letter. I shall not go about to excuse myself; I know 'tis a folly to a great degree, to be so uneasy as I am at present, when I have no reason to apprehend any ill cause, but only might atribute your silence to your marching farther from Dublin, which makes the way longer. I have stay'd till I am almost asleep in hopes; but they are vaine, and I must once more go to bed, and wish to be waked with a letter from you, which I shall at last get, I hope. Till I know whether you come or no, I can not resolve to write you all that has past this day, till which time I thought you had given me wrong characters of men, but now I see they answer my expectation of being as little of a mind as of a body. Adieu, do but love me, and I can bear any thing.

Queen

Queen Mary to king William.——Diſcords in council.

Whitehall, July $\frac{28}{18}$, 1690.

COULD you but gueſs at my impatience for a letter, you would be able to judge of my joy at the receiving yours from Timolin. I hope by to-morrow to have ſuch an anſwer as we all deſire to thoſe by Mr. Buttler. At preſent I ſhall ſay nothing to you, but that I have at laſt ſeen the council in great heat, but ſhall ſtay till I ſee you to tell you my mind upon it. Lord Nott. will ſend you the account the commiſſioners have brought from ſea, of the aſſurance of the fleet being ready Wedneſday next. Lord Lincoln was with me this afternoon no leſs than an hour and half, reforming the fleet, correcting abuſes, and not ſhy of naming perſons; he talk'd ſo perfectly like a madman as I never heard any thing more in my life; he made me the extravaganteſt compliments in the world, but was by no means ſatisfied that I would do nothing he deſired me. He had an expreſſion that I have heard often within theſe few days ſince it is wanted, which is, that I have the power in my hand, and they wonder I will not make uſe of it: and why ſhould I ſtay either for your return, and whether I ſhould loſe ſo much time as to write you word or no, is doubted; that is, when they muſt ſtay till an anſwer can come. I ſhall tell you more of this when I ſhall be ſo happy as once more to ſee you, or when I can write a longer letter, for I have taken the vapours, and dare not to-night; but you know whatever my letters are, my heart is more yours than my own.

Queen Mary to king William.——The council ſplit about the command of the fleet.

Whitehall, $\frac{1 \text{ Aug.}}{22 \text{ July,}}$ 1690.

LAST night I receiv'd your letter from Wels with ſo much joy, that it was ſeen in my face by thoſe who knew the ſecret of it that you were coming. I will not take up more of your time with endeavouring to tell you what is impoſſible to be expreſs'd; but you know how much I love you, and therefore will not doubt of my delight to think I ſhall ſoon ſee you. I will not this time tell you any thing that can be writ you by others, but I muſt let you know that when I ſpoke to Mr. Ruſſel, he anſwered me at firſt almoſt the ſame thing as this morning, till which time he took to conſider. He aſſured me there was nothing he would not do to ſerve you; but he does not think himſelf proper for to command the fleet in ſuch a time as this. He ſays your meaning of ſaying ſir R. Haddock ſhould be under him, can be no other than in commiſſion, wherein himſelf ſhould be the firſt; no other way ſir R. H. can poſſibly go. He tells me, not only the eye and expectation of all England, but all Europe, eſpecially Holland, is upon this choice: that he does not think there is a man in England capable at this time to do it alone; that his opinion is, it ought to be in a commiſſion of no leſs than three. I told him that was your intention if he would not go with ſir R. H. He excuſed himſelf from all, as believing it might be for your ſervice; and told me he thought it ſhould be put in the hands of two ſeamen and a man of quality: the man of quality he thought ſhould be lord Pembroke, if he deſired it; but himſelf rather wiſhed for lord Shrewſbury, of whom lord Marl. writ you word ſome time ſince; he begg'd of all things it might not be the duke of Grafton, ſaying he knew only enough to make him ungovernable, and is of ſo rough a temper, it could

could never ſuit with the ſeamen at all: there was another he feared yet more, which is lord Monmouth, and indeed I believe nobody would ſpeak for him: ſome thought lord Steward would offer himſelf, and that was to be fear'd. Upon the whole I conſulted lord preſident, but had at firſt deſired lord Nottingham to talk with lord Pemb. and hear whether he would deſire it. Lord preſident told me lord Monmouth had aſked his advice, who as a friend had counſel'd him not to aſk it alone, not judging any one man fit for it: t'other pretended to thank him, but in a paſſion begg'd not to be named as one who would go in commiſſion; ſo that was over. While we were talking, came lord Nott. who told me lord Pemb. would not aſk it or deſire it, nor would not be willing to go. 'Tis too tedious to tell you their diſcourſe (which was only as from lord Nott. himſelf) but lord Pembroke diſapproved having a man of quality to go, ſaying it was only to ſend him to be knock'd of the head, without the hopes of having any credit of what was well done. Upon which lord preſident offered to go himſelf: I put that off with compliments, and ſaid, I thought the beſt would be to name the two ſeamen, which could be no other but ſir R. Hadock and ſir J. Aſhby, being now the firſt in the fleet, and leave the third perſon to your naming, who certainly will be here before it can go out, which I ſaid was a reaſon to be given the committee, who knew of your coming. The reſt of the world ſhould only know the third was not yet named, and need not be informed if it ſhould be a man of quality or a ſeaman. This I ſaid I thought would ſerve the end for which it was thought preſſing as to time, ſince theſe two could as well order all things neceſſary as if the third were with them. This lord preſident approved, and thought it beſt to tell the committee at once, that they might only ſpeak their minds upon the two; and I deſired it might be ſo, to prevent lord Steward's offering himſelf: and indeed though I did not tell them nothing of lord Shrewſbury, yet I had told Mr. R. and lord

Marl.

Marl. who approved it upon that account, becauſe they hoped when you came you would name lord Sh. which they thought would find oppoſition now from lord preſident and lord Nott. I confeſs remembering what I have heard you ſay; and your wiſhing ſo earneſtly he had not been out, makes me apt to think you will employ him; and Mr. Ruſſel aſſuring me it would be of ſo general a ſatisfaction, makes me wiſh it. This was done this afternoon in the committee, all generally approving the two men, and that the third ſhould ſtay your coming, only lord Monmouth, who was ſilent and uneaſy. Lord Nott. and Mr. Ruſſel had ſeverally wiſh'd to me alone that Killigrew might be one, but durſt not propoſe it, becauſe of what happened yeſterday in the great council, as you will hear. I thought this buſineſs had been over, but was ſurprized at my return from Kenſington to find lord Pemb. with the whole admiralty, except Mr. Ruſſel and captain Priſtman; they told me, they came to let me know the inconveniency they believed it would be to put this buſineſs in commiſſion, and therefore to deſire that Mr. Ruſſel might have the ſole command. Sir T. Lee was very earneſt in it, and indeed almoſt the only ſpeaker, though for form ſake lord Pemb. began; lord Carbury ſpoke once and no more. I told them it was according to your directions in a letter to me myſelf, ſeeing Mr. Ruſſel had excuſed himſelf, and that I did not know what more could be done; writing to you again, after you had writ your mind ſo plainly, was loſs of time, which I thought might be prejudicial to your affairs at preſent; but they would not be ſatisfied. I deſired time to conſider; 'twas late when they went from me. Lord preſident was gone home; ſo I ſent to lord Nottingham to have the committee appointed to-morrow morning extraordinary upon this, and have ſent to Mr. Ruſſel to come to me firſt. Lord Nott. and lord Marl. who was here, told me it was ſir T. Lee's hatred to Hadock. I think it will be to no purpoſe to refer the thing by letter to you: you will be here yourſelf before

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an anſwer, and I don't know if this long letter will come to you; at leaſt I hope 'twill meet you upon the way. After this long letter I muſt tell you, that 'tis impoſſible for Kenſington to be ready for your firſt coming, though I will do my beſt you ſhall not ſtay long for it. When you are come, I will make my apology for the matter when I ſee you. I ſhall now only tell you I am in great pain till I know if I have done well in this buſineſs or no. I am almoſt faſt aſleep, for 'tis very late. Pardon all my faults, and believe I will commit none willingly; and that I love you more than my life.

Queen Mary to King William.——Heats about the command of the fleet.—The admiralty diſobey her.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{Aug. 3,}}{\text{July 24,}}$ 1690.

THOUGH I hope in God you will come quickly, and that I flatter myſelf you may be come away yeſterday or this day, yet I cannot reſt without ſending this expreſs, in caſe any accident might happen, or ſome retardment, as many are apt to believe by lord Portland's letters, which may make you longer a coming; ſo that it is fit you ſhould know what happened yeſterday. I writ you word how thoſe of the ad. had been with me the night before to recommend Mr. Ruſſel, and the anſwer I gave them, as alſo that I had ſpoken to lord Nott. to call the lords together next morning which was yeſterday; they came accordingly, but I firſt ſpoke to Mr. Ruſſel, who was ſtill of the ſame mind, and aſſured me he could not go any way, even though he had thoſe with him who could help him with their advice. He ſaid the blame muſt ſtill fall upon him, if any thing happened, though merely accidental, yet he ſaid the minds of all men were ſo exaſperated now, that it would be his ruin; you may believe I could not preſs him after that, nor indeed at all, as the comm. of the ad. would have it, ſince in both your letters,

letters, by which you may be ſure I ſhould only go, you ſaid Mr. Ruſſel and ſir R. Hadock under him: ſo Mr. Ruſſel and I parted, he very well ſatisfied as I thought with the two before named, I ſtill in hopes you would chuſe lord Shrewſbury for the man of quality, though he owned he did not ſo much care for ſir R. Hadock. When the commitee met, I deſired lord Pembroke to tell them what the ad. had ſaid to me the night before, that I might have the advice of the lords, which he did; and I ſaw none that thought there could be any change made, Mr. Ruſſel having repeated all his reaſons again to excuſe himſelf. Lord Mon. was the only perſon who was ſilent; ſo the comm. of the ad. were ſent for; when they came, lord Preſident told them what the reſolution was. Sir T. Lee grew as pale as death, and told me, that the cuſtom was that they uſed to recommend, and they were to anſwer for the perſons, ſince they were to give them the commiſſion, and did not know but they might be called to account in parliament; I ſhall not repeat all that was ſaid: Lord Preſident argued with them; at laſt ſir T. Lee came to ſay plainly, Hadock was the man they did not like. Lord Pem. ſpoke for him, ſo did ſir J. Lowther. Mr. Ruſſel was gone out. Priſtman ſpoke againſt it, ſo did lord Carbury, and ſir R. Anſloe; at laſt ſir T. Lee ſaid, it could not be, I might give them a commiſſion if I pleaſed, but they could not; and when I ſaw he talkt long, and inſiſted upon their privilege, I ſaid, that I perceived then the king had given away his own power, and could not make an admiral which the admiralty did not like; he anſwered, No, no more he can't. I was ready to ſay that then the king ſhould give the commiſſion to ſuch as would not diſpute with him, but I did not, though I muſt confeſs I was heartily angry; it may be I am in the wrong, but yet I cannot think ſo. Lord Preſident after more diſcourſe deſired them to retire. When they were gone, I ſaw all generally agreed I was to perſiſt, eſpecially ſince the man they found fault with was he you had named now, and

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as I was assured by all, was the person you had resolved upon, when lord Torrington would not go; and every one approved of sir J. Ashby, and concluded nothing but Killigrew could hinder him, and his absence was the main thing that made him not be thought of by most, though some were against him, upon the account of suspicions they have, which don't seem to be well grounded. Upon this it was resolved, the commissioners should be called again, and told positively they might prepare the commission, and so we parted; but sir T. Lee, lord Carbury, and sir R. Ansloe sent to me to excuse their not signing: I askt lord President what answer was to be sent, for he brought me the message: I told him I was much surprized; he was very angry, and talkt at a great rate; but I stopped him and told him I was angry enough, and desired he would not be too much so, for I did not believe it a proper time; he said, the best answer he could give from me was, that they would do well to consider of it. I desired he would add that I could not change my mind, if it were proper to say so much; he said it was rather too little: what passed at the great council you will hear; but as to this, I saw Mr. Russel this morning, and found him very much out of humour; excused sir T. Lee, and would not believe he had said such a thing as I told you. I said indeed that had angered me very much, but he endeavoured to talk it over, and said sir R. Hadock was not acceptable to them, because they believed lord Nott. had recommended him, and they did not like that: I saw he shifted off the signing the commission, by saying there was not a compleat board this morning: he began again to find difficulties of precedency between Hadock and Ashby, and indeed I never saw him out of humour before: there was company by, so I had no fair opportunity of saying more to him; he only prest the naming lord Shrewsbury for a third, as the best means to allay all these things. But as I had not time nor convenience to say more to him then, I was fain to leave off the discourse at a place I would have said more upon,

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which I had the opportunity of doing this afternoon to lord Marl. who came to me about the ſame thing. I told him I was reſolved to ſend away this expreſs in hopes of a ſpeedy and poſitive anſwer, and I told him why I ſhould be unwilling to name Shrewſbury myſelf. I thought it would not be proper for me by any means to name a perſon who had quitted juſt upon your going away; though I was perſuaded you would truſt him, and had a good opinion of him, yet for me to take upon me alone (for we concluded none would be for it but theſe two who are only truſted with the ſecret, I mean lord Marl. and Mr. Ruſſel, and lord Cham.) for me I ſay now ſo to name him without being aſſured of your approbation, I thought not proper; therefore I deſire you will be very poſitive in your anſwer; for I begin to fear lord Preſident may be in the right, that you cannot poſſibly be here ſo ſoon even as yourſelf thought; and if not, pray ſend an anſwer to this third perſon, and likewiſe to the behaviour of the commiſſioners of the ad. I pray God ſend you here quickly, for beſides the deſire I have to ſee you for my own ſake, (which is not to be named) I ſee all breaking out into flames. Lord Stewart was with me this afternoon from ſir T. Lee to excuſe himſelf to me. He ſaid the reaſon was, becauſe he ſaw this was a buſineſs done between two or three, a concerted thing, and that made him he could not conſent. I told him he himſelf could have aſſured ſir T. Lee it was your own orders in your letter to me, at which he ſhaked his head; I aſkt if he or ſir T. Lee did not believe me; he ſaid ſir T. Lee thought he was, that is ſir R. Hadock, was impoſed upon the K. I ſaid I did not believe that was ſo eaſy; I mean, ſaid lord Devonſ. recommended by perſons who they don't much like. Indeed, my lord, ſaid I, if they only diſlike ſir R. Hadock, becauſe he is recommended by ſuch as they don't approve, it will confirm me in the belief he is a fit man, ſince they can make no other objection againſt him: I confeſs, ſaid I, my lord, I was very angry at what ſir T. Lee ſaid yeſterday;

yeſterday; but this is to make me more ſo, ſince I ſee 'tis not reaſon, but paſſion, makes ſir T. Lee ſpeak thus: upon which we fell into diſcourſe of the diviſions, which both lamented, and I think we both were angry, though not at one another. He complained that people were too much believed that ought not to be ſo, and we could not agree. I ſhould never have done, ſhould I ſay all I hear upon ſuch matters, but what I have ſaid I think abſolutely neceſſary for you to know: if I have been too angry I am ſorry for it: I don't believe I am eaſily provoked, but think I had reaſon now, and if I may ſay ſo, I do not think people ſhould be humoured to this degree. Mr. Ruſſel again deſired the d. of Grafton ſhould not be in; and lord Nott. who was one of thoſe who mentioned him before, deſired me to let you know he is concerned at it, having ſince been informed how unfit he is. One thing more I muſt deſire to know poſitively, which is about Kenſington, whether you will go there, tho' my chamber is not ready. Your own apartment, lord Portland's, Mr. Overkirk's, and lady Darby's are done, but mine impoſſible to be uſed, and nobody's lodgings elſe ready. The air is now free from ſmoke, but your cloſet as yet ſmells of paint, for which I will aſk pardon when I ſee you. This is the true ſtate of your two houſes, but if you will go lye only at Kenſington, for I ſuppoſe your buſineſs will keep you here all day, pray let me know. You may be ſure I ſhall be very willing to ſuffer any inconvenience for your dear company, and wiſh I could ſuffer it all, for I deſerve it, being ſomething in fault; tho' I have excuſes which are not lyes. I hope this long letter will meet you ſo near, that you may bring your own anſwer; if not, if you love me, either write me a particular anſwer yourſelf, or let lord Portland do it for you; for you ſee the neceſſity of it for the public; do a little alſo for my private ſatisfaction, who loves you much more than my own life.

Queen

Queen Mary to king William—about Hampton-court.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{Aug. 5.}}{\text{July 26,}}$ 1690,

LAST night I received yours from Benit-bridge, by which I find you deſigned to ſummon Waterford laſt Monday, I beſeech God give you good ſucceſs, and ſend you ſafe and quickly home; there was order taken yeſterday in councill for the prorogueing the parliament for 3 weeks. I have been this evening at Kenſington, for tho' I did believe you would not be willing to ſtay at Whitehall, yet I confeſs what you write me word, makes me in a million of fears, eſpecially ſince I muſt need confeſs my fault, that I have not been preſſing enough till it was too late. The outſide of the houſe is the fidling work, which takes up more time than one can imagine; and while the ſchafolds are up, the windows muſt be boarded up, but as ſoon as that is done, your own apartment may be furniſhed; and tho' mine cannot poſſibly be ready yet awhile, I have found out a way, if you pleaſe, which is, that I may make uſe of lord Portland's, and he ly in ſome of the other rooms; we may lie in your chamber, and I go throw the council room down, or els dreſs me there; and as I ſuppoſe your buſineſs will bring you often to town, ſo I may take ſuch times to ſee company here, and that part of the family which can't come muſt ſtay here; for 'tis no matter what inconveniencys any els ſuffers for your dear ſake; and this way I think the only one yourſelf will have, will be my lying in your chamber, which you know I can make as eaſy to you as may be: our being there will certainly forward the work. I hope this letter will not come to your hands, but that you will be upon your way hither before this. My greateſt fear is for your cloſets here; but if you will conſider how much ſooner you come back than one durſt have hoped, you will forgive me, and I can't but be extreme glad to be ſo deceived. God in his mercy

ſend

send us a happy meeting and a quick one, for which I am much more impatient than I can possibly express.

Queen Mary to King William.——The divisions continue about the command of the fleet.——Expects he is to be in London in a day or two.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{Aug. 0.}}{\text{July 30.}}$ 1690.

YOU will not wonder that I did not write last night, when you know that at noon I received yours, by Mr. Butler, whose face I shall love to see ever hereafter, since he has come twice with such good news. That he brought yesterday was so welcome to me, that I won't go about expressing it, since 'tis impossible: but for my misfortune, I have now another reason to be glad of your coming, and a very strong one, if compared to any thing but the kindness I have for your dear self, and that is the divisions which, to my thinking, encrease here daily, or at least appear more and more to me. The business of the commission is again put off by Mr. Russell; for the day before yesterday the com. of the ad. were again called upon; and, for any thing I see, can give no good account for their slowness: they were again desired to hasten all they could, and sir J. Lowther saying it was necessary Ashby should have help, gave occasion to ask why the commission was not signed, for which they could give but ill reasons; the lords all agreed they should be again ordered to do it, and that immediately, which they went away for. Mr. Russel was not here, but when he came to the adm. board, he desired it might be put off till an answer of a letter he writ to Killigrew could come. Yesterday morning lord President told me of this, before I went to the cabinet council, and I saw then was very much out of humour, which I shall reserve till I see you. Mr. Russel himself spoke to me of it, and said he believed I would not find it reasonable to venture at this time the losing such a man

as Killigrew, and so gave it a very handsome turn, tho' I think he has no mind to Hadock. I told him I was not so unreasonable as to find fault with deferring this matter upon that account; but that I could not bear with sir T. Lee's way. He went to excuse him, I said that I must own to him, that were I in your place, I would not have borne his answer; but when he had in such a manner refused to sign the commission, I should have put it into such hands as would have done it. Mr. Russell said, he hoped I would not think of it now: I told him no; he might be sure in your absence I would not think of any thing of that nature, especially not without your orders for it; and when I told Mr. Russell the reasons sir T. Lee had sent me, which were, that he had nothing so much against the man as against those who recommended him, he said indeed that was an ill argument: when the cabinet council did meet, this business was left thus, at Mr. Russel's desire; but he himself and all agreed, that lord Nott. should send for sir R. Hadock, and tell him he was to go, that he might prepare for it; but still there is some difficulty about the precedency between sir J. Ashby and him; for I hear that last night Mr. Killigrew's answer came, who would rather be in his own station than one of the three. Thus the matter is, and thus you will find it, for since you are so near coming, I think it will not be proper to do any thing that is not absolutely necessary, and when you do come, you will then be the best judge of the whole matter. At my coming from the council, I was told of Mr. Butler's being come, who soon brought me your letter, and tho' I was in hourly expectation, yet being sure you were coming did really transport me so, that yet I hardly have recovered it, and there is such a joy every where, that it is not to be expreſt. I went last night to Kensington, and will go again by and by: they promise me all shall be ready by Tuesday next, and this is Wednesday; that is the night, by Mr. Butler's reckoning, with a fair wind, you may be here, tho' I think,

think, by your dear letter, it is poſſible you may come a day ſooner; at moſt, if you lye here two nights; the third you may certainly, if it pleaſeth God, be at Kenſington. I will do my endeavour that it may be ſooner; but one night I reckon you will be content to lye here. I writ you word in my laſt, how I thought you might ſhift at Kenſington, without my chamber, but I have thought ſince to ſet a bed (which is already ordered) in the council chamber, and that I can dreſs me in lord Portland's, and uſe his cloſet. M. Neinburg is gone to get ready other rooms for him: thus I think we may ſhift for a fortnight, in which time I hope my own will be ready; they promiſe it ſooner. This letter will, I hope, meet you at Cheſter; it ſhall ſtay for you there, ſo that if there be any thing elſe you would have done, do but let me know it by one word, and you ſhall find it ſo, if it be in my power. I have one thing to beg, which is, that if it be poſſible, I may come and meet you upon the road, either where you dine, or any where elſe, for I do ſo long to ſee you, that I am ſure had you as much mind to ſee your poor wife again, you would propoſe it; but do as you pleaſe: I will ſay no more, but that I love you ſo much it cannot encreaſe, elſe I am ſure it would.

Queen Mary to King William.——Diſappointed upon his delaying to return.

Whitehall, Aug. ½, 1690.

UNLESS I could expreſs the joy I had at the thoughts of your coming, it will be in vain to undertake telling you of the diſappointment 'tis to me that you do not come ſo ſoon. I begin to be in great pain leſt you had been in the ſtorm a Thurſday night, which I am told was great (though its being a t'other ſide of the houſe hinder'd my hearing it) but was ſoon delivered by your letter of the 29th from Ch. I confeſs I deſerve ſuch a ſtop to my joy, ſince may be it was too great, and I not thankful enough to God, and we all

here apt to be too vain upon so quick a success. But I have mortification enough to think your dear person may be again exposed at the passage of the Shannon, as it was at that of the Boyne: this is what goes to my heart; but yet I see the reasons for it so good, that I will not murmur, for certainly your glory would be the greater to terminate the war this summer, and the people here much better pleased, than if they must furnish next year for the same thing again. Upon these considerations I ought to be satisfied, and I will endeavour as much as may be to submit to the will of God and your judgment; but you must forgive a poor wife, who loves you so dearly, if I can't do it with dry eyes; yet since it has pleased God so wonderfully to preserve you all your life, and so miraculously now, I need not doubt but he will still preserve you; yet let me beg you not to expose yourself unnecessarily, that will be too much tempting that Providence which I hope will still watch over you. Mr. Russel is gone down to the fleet last Thursday to hasten as much as may be all things there, and will be back a Monday; when there is a great council appointed. I don't doubt but this commission will find many obstacles; and this naming Killigrew among such as don't like him will be called in question, as well as the other two; and I shall hear again that 'tis a thing agreed among two or three. I will not write now no more than I used to do what others can; and indeed I am fit for nothing this day; my heart is so oppress I don't know what to do. I have been at Kensington for some hours quiet, to-morrow being the first Sunday of the month; and have made use of lord Portland's closet as I told you in my last I would. The house would have been ready by Tuesday night, and I hope will be in better order now; at least it shall not be my fault if 'tis not. I shall be very impatient to hear again from you, till when I shall be in perpetual pain and trouble, which I think you can't wonder at, knowing that you are dearer to me than my life.

Queen

Queen Mary to King William.——Joy that he has approved of her conduct with regard to the admiralty.—People discontented whatever he does.

Whitehall, Aug. the $\frac{15}{5}$, 1690.

LAST night I received yours of the 3d July, and with great satisfaction that it was so plain; your approving my anger is a great ease to me, and I hope may make things go on the better if it be possible; though there are great pains taken to hinder the persons named either from serving at all, or from agreeing, but I hope to little purpose. They now begin to engage Mr. Citters in the business, and tell him stories which will be worth your hearing when you come back; and sir R. Hadock is now said to rail at the Dutch, of which he has, I think, cleared himself. Positive orders were given lord Pembroke this morning to have the commission immediately signed, but sir T. Lee is again at other ways to oppose it: yet Mr. Russel being come back this night from the fleet, to-morrow morning they will have a full board, and so no excuse. Lord Torrington has writ to the officers that they should make an address in his favour, and takes great pains by letters among them; but this is a secret: as for his trial, the only thing can be done is the admiralty's giving a commission for it, which they have already orders for; but that, as all things else with them, goes very slowly; and many disputes and niceties themselves find about it: for my part, I must confess I should think if he were now acquitted, it would be worse both in regard of Holland and the business here, than if the preparations are made, and the going out of the fleet hinder it being put in execution for a while. I should not write you this thought of mine, if I did not find several of my mind, which makes me apt to believe I am not quite in the wrong; but that you know better; and you may believe I shall do as much as lies in my power to follow your directions in

that and all things whatever, and am never so easy as when I have them. Judge then what a joy it was to me to have your approbation of my behaviour, and the kind way you express it in, is the only comfort I can possibly have in your absence: what other people say I ever suspect, but when you tell me I have done well, I could be almost vain upon it: I am sure I have all the reason in the world to praise God, who has sustained me in things so difficult to flesh and blood, and has given me more courage than I could have hoped for: I am sure 'tis so great a mercy that I can never forget it: we have received many: God send us grace to value them as we ought; but nothing touches people's hearts here enough to make them agree; that would be too much happiness. Lord Nott. will give you an account of all things, and of some letters which by great luck are fallen into our hands. I have been at Kensington this evening, and made it now so late that I am very sleepy, and so can't say much more: I shall only assure you that I take all the pains I can. Kensington is ready; that had you come this night as I did flatter myself you would have done, you could have lain there; that is to say, in the council chamber, and there I fear you must lie when you do come, which God grant may be soon. I must needs tell you upon the subject, that when it was first known you intended to come back, 'twas then said, What, leave Ireland unconquered, the work unfinished! now upon your not coming, 'tis wondered whose council this is, and why leave us thus to ourselves in our danger? Thus people are never satisfied; but I must not begin upon the subject which would take up volumes; and, as much as I was prepared, surprizes me to a degree that is beyond expression. I have so many several things to say to you if I live to see you, that I fear you never will have patience to hear half: but you will not wonder if I am surprized at things which though you are used to, are quite new to me. I am very impatient to hear again if you are over the Shannon; that passage frights me.

me. You must excuse me telling my fears; I love you too much to hide them, and that makes all dangers seem greater it may be than they are. I pray God in his mercy keep you, and send us a happy meeting here on earth, first before we meet in heaven.

If I could take more pains to preserve your kindness, that which you write would make me do it; but that has been ever so much my desire, that I can't do more for you, nor love you better.

Queen Mary to King William.——Scotch affairs.——Difficulties in England.——Complains of whig party.

Whitehall, Aug. 17, 1690.

I BEGIN to grow extreme impatient to hear from you again, and till I do shall have little rest; for the passage of the river runs perpetually in my head. God grant I may hear good news. As for what passes here, the commission is at last past, but only four have signed it; which was lord Pembroke, Mr. Russel, sir J. Lowther, and captain Priestman, which it seems makes a board: these have always been ready to do it, and the other three continue obstinate. The commission for the trial of lord Torrington was also press'd extremely, and ordered yesterday in council that the commission of the admiralty should make one of such officers now in service, though they were not in the fight. I was desired yesterday to let you know that though Mr. Castairs be gone to Ireland to press you that the parliament in Scotland might sit, yet that the inconvenience would be so great to have the forfeitures now look'd into at this time, that you are begged to consider of it. I must not name the person; he desired me not by letter, but when I see you you will know all. I have likewise been desired to tell you an imperfect story of the ill condition of the treasury. I desired it might be sent you exactly from thence, which they promise to do. I find people make so many new difficulties every day in every thing, that 'tis a melancholy business to think of it. God only

can cure ſuch matters, and I truſt he will, though we don't deſerve it. I will not trouble you with a longer letter at preſent; God give you quick ſucceſs, and a ſpeedy return, are my conſtant prayers with due ſubmiſſion. I am unreaſonable upon this ſubject, loving you too well to be at any eaſe till I hear again from you.

As I had finiſhed this, lord Nott. and lord Marl. comes to tell of a project they have, which I think lord Marl. is to write to you; for which reaſon an expreſs is ſent. And that gives me the liberty of telling you 'tis ſir Wm. Lockhart who begs you to conſider the matter concerning Scotland. He ſays he muſt ever ſpeak what he thinks moſt for your ſervice, and has ſpoke with lord Preſident about it, who is to write to you of it; but ſir Wm. hopes he ſhall never be known in the matter, becauſe of lord Melvill. Mr. Hampden is the perſon who tells ſuch ſad ſtories of the treaſury, which I fear will prove but too true. We have had to-day a great diſpute about the parliament, whether you ſhould not call a new one or no. They would have me do it, but that I think improper for me. I think I writ you word of this before, that lord Monmouth preſt me much in it, and offered, as I am confident you have heard from me, a loan of 200,000 l. upon that condition, and 'tis certain that party have done all they could to hinder any money at all coming in; and lord Preſident is of opinion they will leave nothing untryed, but he thinks it will not have the effect they ſeem to deſire, but that the ſame perſons will go near to be choſe again. I find I am like to hear a great deal of this matter; but I have your abſence to anſwer it with; I wiſh I had not that any longer, but that you were here to do it for yourſelf. This is meer ſelf-intereſt, longing of all things in the world to ſee you here again.

Queen

Queen Mary to King William.——Her anxiety about his paſſing the Shannon.

Whitehall, Aug. $\frac{12}{9}$, 1690.

I HAVE had no letter from you ſince that of the 31ſt, from Chapelford; what I ſuffer by it you cannot imagine. I don't ſay this by way of complaint, for I do believe you write as often as 'tis convenient or neceſſary, but yet I can't help being extreamly deſirous of hearing again from you. This paſſage of the river runs much in my mind, and gives me no quiet night nor day; I have a million of fears, which are cauſed by that which you can't be angry at, and if I were leſs ſenſible I ſhould hate myſelf, though I wiſh I were not ſo fearfull, and yet one can hardly go without t'other; but 'tis not reaſonable I ſhould torment you with any of this. Lord Stuart deſires me to let you know he has had a letter from M. et Mad. de Grammont, about her brother Mr. Hamilton; they deſire earneſtly he may be exchanged for lord Montjoy. I told lord Devonſ. that I knew nothing of this Mr. Ham. faults (which I ſee he is very apprehenſive the parliament will take into conſideration, if he be not out of their power) but that upon his earneſt deſire I would let you know it. I would have had him write it you himſelf, but he begs me to do it. As for lord Mountjoy, I hope you will conſider if any thing can be done for him. I can never forget that I promiſed his ſon's wife to ſpeak to you, and ſhe really died of grief, which makes me pity her caſe; his family is in a miſerable way, and I am daily ſolicited from his eldeſt daughter about him: if you would let lord Portland give me ſome anſwer to this, I ſhould be very glad, for I can't wonder at people's deſiring to know ſome anſwer, though I am tormented myſelf. The buſineſs of the commiſſion for lord Torrington's tryal ſticks ſtill at the admiralty, who are appointed Monday morning to meet the civilians at council. I have ſtaid till I am ready to go to bed, and now

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can put off ſealing my letter no longer. I pray God give me patience and ſubmiſſion; I want the firſt exceedingly, but I hope all is well, eſpecially your dear ſelf, who I love much better than life.

Queen Mary to King William.——Whigs want a new parliament.

Whitehall, Aug. $\frac{22}{12}$, 1690.

YOU cannot imagine the miſerable condition I was in laſt night; I think had not your letter come as it did, I ſhould have fallen ſick with fear for your dear perſon; but all that trouble made your news of the French having left Limmerick the more welcome, I will not ſay your letter, for thoſe are ever ſo. I am ſure this news affords new reaſon of praiſing God, ſince I hope it will prevent any more fighting. You ſpeak of your coming back now in a way which makes me hope not only that it will be quickly, but that you come willingly, and that is a double joy to me, for before I confeſs, I was afraid to have ſeen you diſſatisfied when you were here, and that would have been very unpleaſant; but now I hope in God to ſee you ſoon, and ſee you as well pleaſed as this place will ſuffer you to be, for I fancy you will find people really worſe and worſe. Lord Stuart was with me this afternoon, with whom I had a long converſation, which will be worth your knowing when you come; but he has made me promiſe to write you word now ſome part of it, which is, that he begs you to conſider if you will not have a new parliament, for this he is ſure will do no good; this he ſays is his opinion. I ſee it is a thing they are mightily ſet upon. Lord Preſident methinks has very good arguments to try this firſt, but of all this you will judge beſt when you come. I can't imagine how it comes to paſs that you have not received my letter of the 26th of July; I am ſure I writ, and that you will have had it by this time, or elſe there muſt be ſome careleſsneſs in it which muſt be lookt after. I have had this evening

lord

lord Anandale who is to tell all, and then I am to procure a pardon from you, but I think I ſhall not be ſo eaſily deceived by him, as I fear lord Melvill has been by ſir James Montgomery; but theſe are things to talk of when you come back, which I pray God may be very ſoon. 'Tis the greateſt joy in the world to hear you are ſo well. I pray God continue it. I hope this will meet you upon your way back, ſo it goes by an expreſs that it may not miſs you. I can't expreſs my impatience to ſee you; there is nothing greater but that which it proceeds from, which will not end but with my life.

I have ſeen Mr. Hop, and Mr. Olderſon, but have time to ſay no more.

You will have an account of the buſineſs of the admiralty from lord Nott.

Queen Mary to King William.—Diſputes begin in council about naval promotions.

Whitehall, Aug. the $\frac{23}{13}$, 1690.

THOUGH I have nothing to ſay to you worth writing, yet I cannot let any expreſs go without doing it; and Mr. Hop, it ſeems, believes the buſineſs of the Sweediſh ſhip too conſiderable to ſtay but till to-morrow. The commiſſioners of the admiralty have reſolved to come to me to-morrow, with ſome names for flags: Mr. Ruſſell recommends Churchill and Ellmor, becauſe he ſays nothing has been done for them, tho' they both were truſted when you came over, and have been ever very true to your intereſt; but I think, if it be poſſible, to let them alone till you come, though Mr. Ruſſel ſeems to think it cannot be delayed; I ſhall hear (if it muſt be ſo) what the other commiſſioners think, and do as well as I can. I have been this day at Kenſington, which looks really very well, at leaſt to a poor body like me, who have been ſo long condemned to this place, and ſee nothing but water or wall.

I have

I have received a letter from lord Durſley, who I ſuppoſe will write of the ſame thing to yourſelf, and therefore I ſhall not do it. I am very impatient for another letter, hoping that will bring me the news of your coming back; 'tis impoſſible to believe how impatient I am for that, nor how much I love you, which will not end but with my life.

Queen Mary to king William.

Whitehall, Aug. the $\frac{24}{14}$, 1690.

I ONLY write for faſhion ſake, for I really have nothing in the world to ſay, yet I am reſolved never to miſs an opportunity of doing it while I live. To-morrow I am to go to the great council, where my lord mayor and aldermen are to come to be thanked for their two regiments, and releaſed of them; when that is over I go, if it pleaſe God, to Hampton-court, which I fear will not be much advanced. It has been ſuch a ſtorm of wind and rain this whole day, that I thankt God with all my heart you could not be near the ſea. I hope the ill weather will ſpend itſelf now, that when you do come you may have a quick paſſage. I have ſeen Mr. Zuleſtein to-day, who is ſo tanned he frights me. I was heartily glad to ſee him, believing you would not have ſent him here, but that you reſolved ſoon to follow. Adieu; continue to love me and I ſhall be happy, and 'tis the only thing can make me ſo.

Queen Mary to King William.——Lord Annandale's confeſſion.

Whitehall, Aug. $\frac{26}{16}$.

THIS time I write with a better heart than the laſt, becauſe it goes by an expreſs, which muſt find you out, which it may be the common poſt may not ſo well do; there was then nothing to write: this time I have a paper to ſend you, which lord Nott. is to copy, which

which is what lord Annandale has made sir William Lochart write, because he was not willing it should be seen under his own hand. I think I writ you word, or shou'd have done, that he sent by his wife to sir Wm. he wou'd surrender himself, if he might be sure not to be made an evidence of; upon which sir Wm. drew up conditions, that he shou'd tell all, and then he should be made no evidence, and has my word to get your pardon. I think I writ you this before, but to be short, he is come in, and I have spoke twice with him; the second time was last night, when he gave me that paper, and seems to be in earnest: he told me, that after the time the papers were burnt, wherewith this ends, sir J. Montgomery proposed sending a second message by the same Simson, but he rejected it as much as he durst, but was afraid to tell him plainly he wou'd not; so having a mind to get out of this, he pretended business at his own house in the country; but his coldness made sir J. Montgomery the warmer in it, and assure him he would spend his life and fortune in that interest: thus they parted, and he knew no more till lord Breadalbine came to see lord Annandale, in his way to Chester, when he went to meet you; he told him sir James had certainly sent another message, but that he was not engaged in it, and believed nobody was besides, but lord Arran, tho' he cou'd not be positive if lord Ross were not likewise in: this he told me last night, and desires to be askt more questions, not knowing but that he might yet remember more than at present he can think of: thus he seems to deal sincerely; but to say the truth, I think one does not know what to believe, but this I am certain of, that lord Rosse did not keep his word with me, much less has sir J. Montgomery with lord Melvill, for he has been in town ever since this day was sevenight, and I have heard nothing of him, which is a plaine breach of the conditions. I hope in God I shall soon hear from you, 'tis a long while since I have; but I am not so uneasie as I was last time, yet enough to wish extremely for a letter.

D'lone

D'lone is to ſend lord Portland, by this poſt, a copy of a letter from Mr. Prieſtman, in which you will ſee what need you have of that divine protection, which has hitherto ſo watched over you, and which only can make me eaſy for your dear ſake. The ſame God who has hitherto ſo preſerved you, will, I hope, continue, and grant us a happy meeting here, and a bleſſed one hereafter. Farewell; 'tis too late for me to ſay any more, but that I am ever and intirely yours, and ſhall be ſo till death.

Queen Mary to King William.——Contraſt between the ſentiments of the Dutch and Engliſh with regard to them.

Whitehall, Aug. the $\frac{29}{19}$th, 1690.

LAST night, when it was juſt a week ſince I had heard from you, I received yours of the $\frac{20}{10}$th, after I was a-bed: I was extreamly glad to find by it you had paſt the Shanon, but cannot be without fears, ſince the enemys have ſtill an army together, which, tho' it has once more run away from you, may yet grow deſperate, for ought I know, and fight at laſt: theſe are things I can't help fearing, and as long as I have theſe fears, you may believe I can't be eaſy; yet I muſt look over them, if it be poſſible, and force myſelf to talk, or preſently every body thinks all loſt. This is no ſmall part of my penance; but all muſt be endured as long as it pleaſes God, and I have ſtill abundant cauſe to praiſe him who has given you this new advantage. I pray God continue to bleſs you, and make us all as thankfull as we ought; but I muſt own the thoughts of your ſtaying longer is very uneaſy to me. God give me patience, I hope you will be ſo kind to write oftener; while you are away, it is really the only comfort this world affords, and if you knew what a joy it is to receive ſo kind a one as your laſt, you wou'd by that, better than any thing elſe, be able to judge of mine

mine for you, and the belief that what you say upon that subject is true, is able to make me bear any thing. When I writ last I was extream sleepy, and so full of my Scotch business, that I really forgot Mr. Harbord; he wrote to sir R. Southwell, as he told me, but he has a great deal to say: he pleased me extremely to hear how much people love me there; when I think of that, and see what folk do here, it grieves me too much, for Holland has really spoiled me in being so kind to me; that they are so to you 'tis no wonder, I wish to God it was the same here; but I ask your pardon for this, if I once begin upon this subject, I can never have done to put it out of my head. I must put you once more in mind of the custos rotulorum for lord Fitzharding, he thinks his honor depends much upon it, having been so long in his family. I did once tell you, that he did not desire to be lord lieutenant, but now some gentlemen there in the country have wrote to him about it, which makes him desire to be it; if you think it for your service, I suppose you will do nothing in it till your return, 'tis only that you may remember it, and not be engaged before he speaks. Lord Marl. is also very earnest with me to write to you what has been done to-day, and the commissioners of the admiralty have been here in a body, at the cabinett councill, to name 4 persons, out of which they desired me to chuse two flags. Lord Marl. desired me to name 'em to you in order, which is Churchill, Aylmer, Wheeler, and Mitchell; he says lord President may write to you about one Carter, and 'tis like enough he will, for he tells me he is much an older officer, and will quit if these come over his head, and says all goes by partiality and faction, as indeed I think it's but too plain in other things, how it is in this you will be best able to judge. I writ you word before what Mr. Russel said of the two first; you will do in it as you please, for I told the commissioners myself, that I hoped you wou'd be here so soon, that I did not see why this matter shou'd not stay for your coming, and so I resolve to leave it, if

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it's poſſible, but cou'd not refuſe my lord Marl. nor indeed myſelf, the writing you the matter as it is, tho' he expects I ſhould write in his favour, which tho' I would not promiſe, yet I did make him a ſort of compliment, after my faſhion. I need not repeat either how much I love you, nor how impatient I am to ſee you, you are kind enough to be perſwaded of both, and I ſhall make it my endeavour, while I live, never to give you cauſe to change your opinion of me, no more than I ſhall my kindneſs for you, which is much above imagination.

Queen Mary to King William——on the report of the loſs of his artillery at Limerick.

Whitehall, Aug. the $\frac{3}{2}\frac{1}{1}$ſt, 1690.

THIS is only to let you know that I have received your duplicate of the 14th, which came by Waterford, and got hither laſt night by 9 o'clock. There was no time loſt in obeying your orders, but I have ſeveral remarks to make another time. Sir R. Southwel's letter ſpeaks of a misfortune to the artillery, which he refers to your letter, that is coming by Dublin; I cannot imagine the reaſon 'tis not come yet, nor can I help being very impatient for it. The meſſenger te ls an imperfect ſtory, which makes a great noiſe in the town, and does not leſſen the deſire of knowing the truth; beſides, 'tis ſuch a comfort to hear from you, that I can't be blamed for wiſhing it. This is all I will ſay to-night; for ſhould I begin to tell my fears, that you will not be back ſo ſoon as I could wiſh, I ſhould trouble you, and write myſelf aſleep, it being late. You know my heart, I need ſay nothing of that, 'tis ſo entirely yours.

Queen

Queen Mary to king William—upon his raising the siege of Limerick.—Great heats about naval promotions.—Opposition to lord Marlborough's expedition to Kingsale.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{Sept. 1,}}{\text{Aug. 22,}}$ 1690.

THIS day at noon I received yours, which came by the way of Dublin, and am sorry to see the messenger's news confirmed; but it has pleased God to bless you with such a continued success all this while, that it is, may be, necessary to have some little cross. I hope in God this will not prove a great one to the main business, tho' 'tis a terrible thought to me, that your coming is put off again for so long time; I think it so, I'm sure, and have great reason every manner of way. I will say nothing of what my poor heart suffers, but must tell you, that I am now in great pain about the naming the flags. Mr. Russel came to me last night, and said it would now be absolutely necessary; when I insisted upon staying till I heard from you, he desired to know if I had any particular reason; I told him plainly, that since I could not pretend to know myself who were the fittest, it troubled me to see all were not of a mind; that I was told by several persons, that there were ancient officers in the fleet, who had now behaved themselves very well this last time, and would certainly quit if these were preferred; so that he could not blame me if I desired, in this difficulty, to stay for your answer, to whom I had wrote: to this he answered in more passion than ever I saw him, that Carter and Davis, which he knew lord President and lord Nott. would speak for, were two pitiful fellows, and very mean seamen; that next summer he would not command the fleet if they should have flags. After a long dispute about this matter, I have put him off till the last moment comes, when they are to sail; he says, then he must speak of it to the comm. and hear who will speak against it, by which I may judge. I see lord

Marl. heart is very much ſet upon this matter, and Mr. Ruſſell, as you may ſee by what I write, on t'other ſide. Lord Preſident ſays, if Churchill have a flag, he will be called the flag by favour, as his brother is called the general of favour: he ſays abſolutely this Carter will quit, and commends him highly; but I muſt tell you another thing, which is, that he is mightily diſſatisfied with the buſineſs of Kinſale. I ſee he does not oppoſe it, for he ſays 'tis your order, and therefore muſt be obeyed; but I find he raiſes many difficulties to me; what he does to others I can't tell, but, among other things, he endeavours to frighten me by the danger there is of being ſo expoſed, when the fleet and 5000 men are gone, which he reckons all the force; tells how eaſy it will be then for the French to come only with tranſport ſhips, and do what they will, but with all this, is very deſirous to forward all things. You will have an account from lord Nott. what has been done this day and yeſterday. I know you will pity me, and I hope will believe that if your letter had been leſs kind, I don't know what would become of me, 'tis that only makes me bear all that now ſo torments me, and I give God thanks every day for your kindneſs; 'tis ſuch a ſatisfaction to me to find you are ſatisfyed with me, that I cannot expreſs it; and I do ſo flatter myſelf with the hopes of being once more happy with you, that that thought alone, in this world, makes me bear all with patience. I pray God preſerve you from the dangers I hear you expoſe yourſelf daily to, which puts me in continual pain. A battle, I fancy, is ſoon over; but the perpetual ſhooting you are now in, is an intollerable thing to think on; for God's ſake take care of yourſelf; you owe it to your own and this country, and to all in general. I muſt not name myſelf where church and ſtate are equally concerned, yet I muſt needs ſay, you owe a little care for my ſake, who, I am ſure, loves you more than you can do me: and the little care you take of your dear perſon I take to

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be a ſign of it: but I muſt ſtill love you more than life.

Queen Mary to King William.——State of her own mind.—Oppoſition to lord Marlborough's expedition to Kingſale.—Her diſlike of lady Marlborough.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{Sept. 5,}}{\text{Aug. 26,}}$ 1690.

YESTERDAY I was very much diſappointed when lord Nott. brought me a letter from you, to find it was only the duplicate to a former which brought your orders to lord Marl. So that I have now received three of yours of one date; you may be ſure they are all extremely welcome, but I confeſs that which came yeſterday would have been more ſo, had it been of a freſher date. I have been juſt now writing to your aunt, the princeſs of Naſſau, in anſwer to one which ſhe wrote, to let me know of her daughter being to marry the prince of Saxenſchnach. I believe you will be glad for your couſin's ſake, that ſhe will be diſpoſed of before her mother dies; and I ever heard it at the Hague that this young man was good-natured, which will make him uſe her well, though ſhe is ſo much older: and for his good fortune, ſhe has enough I believe to govern him more gently than another couſin of yours does her ſpouſe. I can't help laughing at this wedding, though my poor heart is ready to break every time I think in what perpetual danger you are; I am in greater fears than can be imagined by any who loves leſs than myſelf. I count the hours and the moments, and have only reaſon enough left to think, as long as I have no letters all is well. I believe, by what you write, that you got your cannon Friday at fartheſt, and then Saturday I ſuppoſe you began to make uſe of them; judge then what cruel thoughts they are to me to think what you may be expoſed to all this while. I never do any thing without thinking now, it may be, you are in the greateſt dan-

gers, and yet I muſt ſee company upon my ſet days: I muſt play twice a week; nay, I muſt laugh and talk, tho' never ſo much againſt my will: I believe I diſſemble very ill to thoſe who know me, at leaſt 'tis a great conſtraint to myſelf, yet I muſt endure it: all my motions are ſo watch'd, and all I do ſo obſerved, that if I eat leſs, or ſpeak leſs, or look more grave, all is loſt in the opinion of the world; ſo that I have this miſery added to that of your abſence and my fears for your dear perſon, that I muſt grin when my heart is ready to break, and talk when my heart is ſo oppreſs'd I can ſcarce breathe. In this I don't know what I ſhould do, were it not for the grace of God which ſupports me: I am ſure I have great reaſon to praiſe the Lord while I live for this great mercy, that I don't ſink under this affliction; nay, that I keep my health; for I can neither ſleep nor eat. I go to Kenſington as often as I can for air, but then I can never be quite alone; neither can I complain, that would be ſome eaſe; but I have nobody whoſe humour and circumſtances agrees with mine enough to ſpeak my mind freely to: beſides, I muſt hear of buſineſs, which being a thing I am ſo new in, and ſo unfit for, does but break my brains the more, and not eaſe my heart. I ſee I have inſenſibly made my letter too long upon my own ſelf, but I am confident you love enough to bear with it for once: I don't remember that I have been guilty of the like fault before, ſince you went; and that is now three months, for which time of almoſt perpetual fear and trouble, this is but a ſhort account, and ſo I hope may paſs: 'tis ſome eaſe to me to write my pain, and 'tis a great ſatisfaction to believe you will pity me, it will be yet more when I hear it from yourſelf in a letter, as I am ſure you muſt if it were but out of common good-nature; how much more then out of kindneſs, if you love me as well as you make me believe, and as I endeavour to deſerve a little by that ſincere and laſting kindneſs I have for you: but by making excuſes I do but take up more of your time, and therefore muſt tell

you

you that this morning lord Marl. went away; as little reaſon as I have to care for his wife, yet I muſt pity her condition, having lain in but eight days; and I have great compaſſion on wives when their huſbands go to fight. There has been a great debate this morning in the cabinet council, whether the commiſſioners of the admiralty ſhould be truſted with the ſecret. Mr. Ruſſelf thought it was no matter if the whole town knew it; lord Preſident thought the whole ſucceſs depends upon it being a ſecret, and would not have the commiſſioners of the admiralty told it by no means: moſt were of his opinion, eſpecially lord Monmouth; but 'tis too tedious to write more of this: you will have an account from lord Nott. of all that has been done beſides to-day. If the wind continues fair, I hope this buſineſs will ſucceed; though I find if it do not, thoſe who have adviſed it will have an ill time, all except lord Nott. being very much againſt it: lord Preſident only complying becauſe it is your order; but not liking it, and wondering England ſhould be ſo expoſed, thinking it too great a hazard. There would be no end ſhould I tell you all I hear upon this ſubject, but I thank God I am not afraid, nor do I doubt of the thing, ſince 'tis by your order. I pray God the weather does not change with you as it does here; it has rained all night and this day, and looks as if it were ſet in for it. Every thing frights me now, but were I once more ſo happy as to ſee you here, I fancy I ſhould fear nothing. I have forgot to tell you that in the Utrecht courant they have printed a letter of yours to the States, in which you promiſe to be ſoon with them; I can't tell how many ill hours I have had about that in the midſt of all my joy; when I thought you were coming home, it troubled me to think you would go over and fight again there. And now I am upon this, I muſt tell you, that Mr. Johnſon writes that Mr. Danckleman has writ the Elector word, that you received the news very coldly that he was come to the army, which they ſay vext him: I have writ to him, 'tis already ſome

time ago, in anſwer to a letter I had from him, which I wiſh you had ſeen; it was full of ſo many extraordinary things, but ſo like him. I have had a preſent from him of an amber cabinet, which I think is not neceſſary to write. Now my letter is already ſo long, but 'tis as if I were bewitched to-night, I can't end for my life; but will force myſelf now, beſeeching God to bleſs you and keep you from all dangers whatſoever; and ſend us a happy meeting again here upon earth, and at laſt a joyfull and bleſſed one in heaven in his good time. Farewell; do but continue to love me, and forgive the taking up ſo much of your time to your poor wife, who deſerves more pity than ever any creature did, and who loves you a great deal too much for her own eaſe, though it can't be more than you deſerve.

Queen Mary to King William, upon his returning from Ireland.—Her diſlike to the queen dowager.

Whitehall, Sept. the $\frac{19}{8}$th, 1690.

LORD Wincheſter is deſirous to meet you, which you may believe I will never hinder any one. Whether I ought to ſend him out of form ſake I can't tell, but it may paſs for what it ought to the world, and to your dear ſelf at leaſt I ſuppoſe it is indifferent. Nothing can expreſs the impatience I have to ſee you, nor my joy to think it is ſo near; I have not ſlept all this night for it, though I had but five hours ſleep the night before, for a reaſon I ſhall tell you. I am now going to Kenſington to put things in order there, and intend to dine there to-morrow, and expect to hear when I ſhall ſett out to meet you. I had a compliment laſt night from Q. Dowager, who came to town a Friday; ſhe ſent it I believe with the better heart becauſe Limmericke is not taken: for my part I don't think of that or any thing elſe but you; God ſend you a good journey home, and make me thankfull as I ought for all his mercies.

One

One of lord Dartmouth's memorandums on biſhop Burnet's hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 134.—*Anecdotes of Queen Mary.*

THE duke of Leeds told me, that King William, before he went abroad, told him, that he muſt be very cautious of ſaying any thing before the queen, that looked like a diſreſpect to her father, which ſhe never forgave any body: and the marquis of Halifax in particular had loſt all manner of credit with her for ſome unſeaſonable jeſts he had made upon this ſubject. That he, the duke might depend upon what ſhe ſaid to him to be ſtrictly true, though ſhe would not always tell the whole truth; and that he muſt not take it for granted that ſhe was of his opinion every time ſhe did not think fit to contradict him. The earl of Nottingham, who was much in her confidence, told me, he was very ſure if ſhe had outlived her huſband, ſhe would have done her utmoſt to have reſtored her father; but under ſuch reſtrictions, as ſhould have prevented his ever making any attempts upon the religion or libertys of his country.

In lord Hardwicke's manuſcript of the memoirs of Byng lord Torrington, there is the following account of lord Torrington's motions before the battle of Beachy head.

"M. De Tourville was joined at Breſt, by the count of Chateau Renaud, who, in coming through the ſtreights, had miſſed Killigrew's ſquadron, that was looking out for him, with a great fleet conſiſting of the largeſt and beſt of the French ſhips. M. de Tourville ſailed from Breſt, and coming into the channel, hovered on the Engliſh coaſt, expecting the effects of the deſigned conſpiracy which was to break out about this time. The Engliſh and Dutch had not been long rendezvouſed at St. Helen's, when the lord

Torrington received advice of the French fleet appearing on the back of the Isle of Wight, which surprized him, as not believing them forward enough to be out so soon; and therefore had sent no scouts to the westward to observe their motions. Upon this he immediately got under sail, and was joined the next day by admiral Evertsen, and several Dutch ships with him. When he made the French fleet, they were to leeward of him, and drawing into a line of battle, bore down upon them; but a thick fog coming on, the English and Dutch anchored, 'till it cleared up, when he saw the French fleet again, consisting in all of 100 sail. The lord Torrington then made the signal for the blue squadron to lead the van towards them, but when he was come within 4 leagues of them, it growing night, he brought to, and both fleets anchored.

In a council of war lord Torrington held upon this occasion, it was the general opinion they were too weak to engage the enemy, the sentiments of which he sent up by express to the queen. In the mean time both fleets, in sight of one another, weighed and drew into a line, but it proving little wind, they anchored again; but in the evening lord Torrington stood up the channel, and the French fleet was not in sight all the next day; and the day after, he came off Beachy Head, where he kept sometimes under sail, and sometimes at anchor.

While the two fleets kept thus in sight of each other, the court was very uneasy that the enemy should be on the coast while such a considerable fleet was at sea, therefore positive orders were sent to lord Torrington, not to let the French fleet go away unfought, which order he received the evening of the 29th of June, and immediately communicated them to the council of war, who were of opinion, that since he had such positive orders to fight the enemy, it should not be delayed while they had the wind of them: and that it would be best, when they attacked them, to go close up to them; the admiral of the Dutch joining with them

in

in the ſame opinion. So that lord Torrington got under ſail the ſame evening, being three leagues off of Beachy Head."

In the ſame manuſcript there is the following account of the French motions after the battle.

"THE French continued their purſuit for four days, which had they done in formal line of battle, but every beſt ſailor left to act, at leaſt all the diſabled ſhips of the fleet had been taken by them; but through this failure, and by not obſerving, or not being well acquainted with our tides, which the Engliſh fleet made ſuch advantage of, that when they got off of Dover, the French, though in ſight, were ſo far behind, that they deſiſted following it any further, as not thinking it adviſeable to go after them, on the back of the Goodwin, and in amongſt the ſands towards the Thames, where the Engliſh fleet was retireing, and came to an anchor at the Nore in great confuſion, and expecting that the French might attack them. All the buoys were taken up, and other neceſſary diſpoſitions made, as ſoon as they got there."

In the ſame manuſcript there is the following account of lord Torrington's trial.

"IT was by a court martial held at Sheerneſs, on the 10th of December, in which he was unanimouſly acquitted, though it was thought by ſome it ſhould have been the houſe of lords, as being a peer. It is ſuppoſed this was chiefly done as ſome ſatisfaction to the Dutch, who had much ſuffered in the battle. The only blame to be laid on lord Torrington, "was "his ſtanding to the ſouthward at the beginning of "the engagement, and by not going nigher to the "French with the reſt of the fleet, as he had admo-"niſhed all the other commanders to do, at the coun-"cil of war held before the battle; yet though his

"ſquadron,

" ſquadron, which was the ſtrongeſt, had behaved as " the reſt did, it is unreaſonable to think he could " have obtained any victory over the French, whoſe " ſtrength was ſo much ſuperior both in the number " and quality of their ſhips, the enemy being 70 odd " ſail, and the Engliſh and Dutch only 50." The Dutch admiral, who went very nigh the enemy, and behaved himſelf very bravely, committed likewiſe a miſtake, by not going to the headmoſt ſhips of the enemys line, which had prevented their ſtretching ahead and tacking on him, which gave occaſion to the ill conſequences that followed. As theſe were the miſtakes of the confederates during the battle, ſo was not the French without theirs after it; for had they anchored at firſt, as the Engliſh did, they had not been ſo much to the weſtward of them, or had they weighed ſo early as them, it is thought the whole fleet might have been endangered, they being near twice as ſtrong, after that of the Dutch was diſabled. But the Engliſh gained ſo much on them, that they thought it in vain to purſue them further, and thereby loſt the advantage of a victory they might have obtained.

The loſs of this battle, and the apprehenſions of a deſcent, and ſeveral riſings in the country, occaſioned a great conſternation in the people. But from the queen's wiſe adminiſtration, and application to buſineſs during the king's abſence, joined to her conſtancy of mind, prevented all their fears of danger: and the victory gained by the king at the battle of the Boyne, which happened on the very next day after that of Beachy, put a ſudden and effectual ſtop to all the deſigns of the diſcontented party."

Lord

Lord Shrewſbury to lord Carmarthen.—Offers to take the command of the fleet upon the defeat off Beachy Head. In King William's box.

My Lord, Southborrow, July the 12th, 90.

THIS place, as much as I can ſee yet of it, has as much the air of real ſolitude, as the moſt romantic grove you ever read of; whether it be my lord Torrington or Mr. Tourville's fault is not yet decided, but yeſterday we met ſo many Dutch ſeamen upon the road, that that ſubject fills me with compaſſion, but at the ſame time leads me to what I ſat down with intention to write upon, which I deſire you will keep to yourſelf, unleſs you ſee a fit opportunity, and withal that you think my propoſal neither too vain nor too fooliſh.

If I do not very much miſtake Mr. Ruſſel's inclinations, I think he is not very fond nor ambitious of undertaking this expedition at ſea, not being, I believe, confident enough of his own experience to deſire the command alone, nor yet willing to undergo ſo much trouble and danger as ſuch a buſineſs requires, when he is only to ſhare the honour with other commiſſioners. If he does not go, I conclude no other ſingle man will be truſted with the fleet, there being objections againſt every body can be named, either for want of ſkill, or ſecurity of their inclinations to the government. If the fleet be commanded by commiſſioners, I imagine there will be appointed one man of quality and two ſeamen. If my lord Pembroke deſires it, no body can diſpute what is ſo much his due; but by ſeveral people I have ſpoken with, there appears too great a backwardneſs in every body to undertake the regaining this loſt game, that I doubt whether any will offer themſelves who are fit to be accepted: it is only in this caſe, and no other, that I think myſelf obliged to let you know, that if there ſhould any ſuch great want be, as that I could be ſerviceable (which is hardly credible) I would venture with all the readineſs imaginable, and promiſe you, that as I ſhould

be

be able to do little good, I would do as little hurt, which is all can be expected from the beſt you can ſend; if joined with two able mettled ſeamen, which I am ſure are the only people can recover this diſgrace.

I cannot help being ſo ridiculous as to be mightily picqued at the affront the nation has ſuffered, and think it ſo much concerns the intereſt as well as reputation of every man that calls himſelf an Engliſhman, not to ſuffer this domineering fleet to go home without a revenge, and call themſelves ever after ſovereigns of the ſea, that I am very ſollicitous to hear good men are named for this command, that it might be ſomebody's buſineſs who is ſufficiently concerned in the ſucceſs, to ſee this fleet equipped with diligence and care. This long letter is writ contrary to all orders of a regular water-drinker, and in great haſte. If what I have offered be very wrong, I hope you will have the charity to conceal the follies of

Your lordſhip's
Moſt faithful, humble ſervant,
SHREWSBURY.

In King William's box.

Marquis of Caermarthen to king William.—Suſpicions of lord Monmouth.

SIR, London, 16th June, 1690.

MY former of the 13th did not go as I expected, becauſe I underſtood it would have no other conveyance than by the ordinary poſt, by which not only myſelf dare not write, but my lord Marlborow and others (who know leſs than I do of that matter) have declared publickly that they will not write but by expreſſes, having reaſon to believe that major Wildman has exact impreſſions of moſt people's ſeals, and that he makes uſe of his art.

He does now produce letters which he pretends to intercept every poſt, which are interlined with white ink, with the beſt intelligence which can be given of

Your

Your Majeſty's councils and affairs: they are always directed to Monſ. Coutenay, at Amſterdam; and I remember my lord Monmouth told me of ſuch a direction above two months ago; but we never ſaw any of theſe till one about four days before Your Majeſty's departure, and they are ſo much of one ſtrain, that I cannot hinder myſelf from ſuſpecting them to be ſham letters, either to bring ſome of your council under ſuſpicion of betraying ſecrets, or to put a value upon Mr. Wildman's great diligence in your ſervice at this time.

I cannot but alſo acquaint Your Majeſty with a private diſcourſe of my lord Monmouth's to me on the 14th, which did much ſurprize me; but although I now believe there is no ſuch danger, yet it is fit for Your Majeſty's knowledge. It was that he did then believe we ſhould in a few hours from that time hear that 5000 French foot were landed in Scotland, to which a great number of Scotch were joined by that time. I told him if he knew it to be true, he ought to acquaint the queen with it; which he ſaid he would have done, if he had been very ſure of the truth of it; but he was confident it would be found true in a few hours longer: but hearing nothing of it the next day, I aſked him, why he had ſaid ſo before? he anſwered, that the news had been brought by a man who came poſt out of Scotland in forty-eight hours, and had rid himſelf almoſt dead; but ſaid he did not know the man, nor how to enquire after him: and upon further diſcourſe he ſaid, he had told Your Majeſty that he would endeavour to get what intelligence he could out of Scotland for your ſervice, and that he would endeavour to prevent all things there which might tend to your diſſervice, but that he would be torn to pieces before he would name any perſons, and that you were contented to give him that liberty. In ſhort—although I hope he wiſhes well to Your Majeſty, I believe him to be abuſed by Wildman: and he was in as much diſorder as ever I ſaw, when Ferguſon's papers were ſearched, and

and went about a dozen times to his lodging, where Wildman was all the time.

I say not this with any reflection upon my lord, (who in my conscience I do believe means well to your interest) but I believe he has been privy to more of the Scotch designs than he now wishes he had known.

In King William's box.

Lord Caermarthen to King William, upon the defeat at Beachy Head.—Presses him to return from Ireland.

SIR, London, 7th July, 1690.

I WRIT so at large to Your Majesty yesterday, that I ought not to trouble you so soon again, were it not to congratulate Your Majesty's victory over your enemies at Drogheda, which I hope I need not go about to persuade Your Majesty of my rejoyceing in as truly as any of your subjects. It is pity that so much bravery and greatness as Your Majesty shews in all kinds, should meet with any such repulse as you have done at sea; but I hope that may be repaired if those will do their dutys to whom it belongs.

However, as the present case is, without Your Majesty's speedy returne (besides many inconveniences here which would be prevented by it) I do to the utmost degree apprehend its being made impracticable, in some little time hence, for you to returne this summer, if you would, especially with any force, of which I think there is appearance enough that there will be need here, and yet how great soever that need bee, it seems unreasonable to desire troops from you whilst your person is there. Your great councill do generally hope, that having lessened your enemies army, you will send back some troops, the fears here being very great, especially whilst the French fleet are about the Downs, where it is expected they will anchor this night. I will presume to trouble Your Majesty no further, but to beseech you to consider the importance of

of your return, whilſt it is in your power. I am, with all duty and eſteem,

SIR,
Your Majeſty's moſt faithful
and moſt obedient ſubject and ſervant,

CAERMARTHEN, P.

Since I had writt this letter, the cabinet council being met to conſider about the fleet, and the debate giving occaſion to ſpeak of the general ſtate of our affairs, it was thought of abſolute neceſſity by them, to deſire that ſome troops might be ſent back out of Ireland immediately; and, upon the whole, it was agreed unanimouſly, that as far as it could be done with good manners, Your Majeſty ſhould be preſſt to returne with all imaginable ſpeed; all agreeing that it would otherwiſe be impracticable in a little time time longer, and very unſafe both to Your Majeſty's perſon and the nation, if you did not comply with our deſires. Your Majeſty will accordingly receive our humble requeſts by my lord Nottingham, with the ſtate of our condition and motives for our requeſts, whch I hope will prevail with you. Your Majeſty will alſo find, that in hopes of Your Majeſty's being of our opinion in this matter, we have ordered the ſquadron under Shovell to a ſtation where he ſhould not bee, but that we take it to be of the firſt importance to ſecure Your Majeſty's paſſage to us. We have ſworn one another to ſecrecy in this matter, and the admiralty thinks we have ordered Shovell's ſquadron only to prevent the deſign of the 28 Breſt ſhips burning our tranſport veſſels. Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to ſend us the moſt ſpeedy anſwer to this that is poſſible, and to keep it private as long as may be."

Marquis

In King William's box.

Marquis of Caermarthen to King William, on his returning to the army in Ireland.——Complaints of the admiralty.

SIR, London, 19th Aug. 1690.

I THANK God, all things are so quiet here, that I have nothing to trouble Your Majesty withall, but to congratulate your happy progress, which the letter bring us an account of this day.

I am glad Your Majesty has been pleased to delay your return to this time, of which I hope you will find the good effects here, as well as in Ireland, unless we can be brazen-faced in our ingratitude, which I hope the very Mobile will not suffer us to be, what even our natural inclinations might otherwise dispose us to.

We have ordered an additional provision to be made, and sent both from Chester and Bristol a few days provisions for the army, from each place, for fear of any want, which is the only thing I can now apprehend in Ireland; for we dare not depend upon the Plymouth provisions coming in time, being liable to so many accidents to prevent it; and amongst the many other miscarriages of the board of admiralty, one hath been, the not sending those provision ships from Plymouth to Ireland, with sir Cloudesly Shovell, we having given them orders for it in due time, and was omitted thro' perfect neglect.

It is pity to take up any of Your Majesty's time impertinently, and therefore, with my prayers for your prosperity, I beg to be esteemed, as I most truly am,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most dutifull, and entirely devoted subject and servant,

CAERMARTHEN, P.

BOOK

BOOK VI.

Marquis of Caermarthen to King William.——Sad ſtate of Ireland.——Offers to go lord lieutenant-general.—— Diſcontents of people with government.

In King William's Box.

SIR, London, Feb. 20th, 1690-1.

I CAN ſay nothing of matters here, but what Your Majeſty is informed of at large, by my lord Sidney; but your affairs in Ireland ſeem to be in ſo ill a poſture, and ſo likely to be worſe rather than better (unleſs ſome other courſe be taken than is now) and it is ſo certain, that your buſineſs in the next parliament will go better or worſe, according to your ſucceſs the next ſummer there; that I preſume to give Your Majeſty my opinion of the neceſſity of your ſending ſomebody thither, as lord lieutenant, with the accuſtomed powers of that place, whoſe quality, as well as authority, may give a countenance to his actings, and may make him be more willingly obeyed than theſe lords juſtices are or will be.

I confeſs the cure is difficult, becauſe Your Majeſty has no Engliſh ſubject who is fitly qualified for the employment, (and yet you can employ no other) but I do truly believe your affairs would do better in an indifferent hand of ſuch quality, aſſiſted with good councellors, and ſome good military aſſiſtants (although thoſe were foreigners) than they can do by any commiſſion of juſtices, as the preſent ſtate of things are in that kingdom.

Now as I am of this opinion, ſo I think my lord Shrewſbury, my lord Cheſterfield, my lord Pembroke, my lord Moulgrave, or my lord Godolphin, are capable of doing Your Majeſty this ſervice, if Your Majeſty ſhould approve any of them, and that they would un-

dertake it. Nay, ſo abſolutely neceſſary I think it is that ſomething of this kind ſhould be done, that rather than it would not, I do offer myſelf to Your Majeſty for that ſervice, altho' I am leſs fit than any of thoſe I have named.—Your Majeſty will eaſily believe that, my circumſtances conſidered, I ſhould not have named myſelf, but that I would rather periſh in endeavouring to ſave this government, than live to periſh with it, which (as infirm as I am) I may probably do, if Ireland ſhould coſt another year's war. Another reaſon why I offer myſelf is, becauſe I think it yet to be prevented by an induſtrious care, and ſuch proviſion made for it as is within Your Majeſty's power.—What would certainly prevent this danger is Your Majeſty's going thither in perſon: but I fear your other affairs (being wanted every where) will not permit you to do it this year; and no more time muſt be loſt (the year being ſo far advanced) in fixing your reſolutions about this matter; but if Your Majeſty ſhould approve of this method, your orders muſt be immediately ſent to whoever you ſhall employ in that ſervice.

I beſeech Your Majeſty to take this affair of Ireland thoroughly into your conſideration, being what the whole proſperity of your government depends upon in theſe kingdoms; and forgive me for telling Your Majeſty ſo bold a truth as it is, that men's affections to the government do apparently decreaſe amongſt all parties; and nothing but a more vigorous conduct of affairs can retrieve it, the effects of which muſt appear this next ſummer, either at ſea, or in Ireland, or both; and a miſcarriage in either will be probably fatal to the chief commanders (how innocent ſoever they be) and deeply prejudicial to Your Majeſty.

Although I have writ all this to Your Majeſty as my own opinion, I find it to be alſo the opinion of all the thinking men that I converſe with, and it is ſuch a daily diſcourſe (even amongſt us who are of the committee for Iriſh affairs,) how impoſſible it is for things to ſucceed in Ireland under the preſent conduct of them, that

I believe

I believe it to be the reaſon why we can ſo ſeldom get a number ſufficient to make a committee, of which my lord Sydney and I are always two, and commonly ſir Hen. Goodrick the third; (but which is yet worſe) if any others do chance to come, they ſeem to act like pyoneers, for pay, rather than by inclination. If Your Majeſty ſhall think all this impertinent, I hope you will take no notice it was ever writ, but forgive,

SIR,
Yours, &c.

CARMARTHEN, P.

Lord Caermarthen to King William ——— Complains of Mr. Hampden. In King William's box.

SIR, 27th Feb. 1690-1.

I AM glad I have but little to trouble Your Majeſty withall from hence, all things going on very well as to the fleet, which is our principal concern. The city loane alſo, of 200,000l. (which we were ſent to borrow) is in a good forwardneſs, notwithſtanding the diſcouragement given them by Mr. Hampden in parliament, who there ſaid, that thoſe had lent Your Majeſty leaſt who had lent you moſt upon former loanes; but the common council did only take notice of it, with a declaration that it ſhould not hinder this loane, and that they would not for the future be obliged to pay their money to the chamberlaine of the city, but that every one would lend in what manner they pleaſed, and did deſire to have a liſt out of the chamberlaine's books, who had been the former lenders upon each fund, and what ſums every man had lent; to which my lord Maior gave them no anſwer.

As to the affairs of Ireland, Your Majeſty will have received a large pacquett by the laſt poſt, from the lords juſtices and lieutenant generals. Ginkle and we are doing all we can to ſend over oats and other proviſions;

but all credit being loſt, and nothing to be bought but with ready money, the want of that delays things very much; and I find that Your Majeſty's clothing of the army yourſelf will turn but to an ill account to Your Majeſty, as well as to the ſoldiers, both being much abuſed as it is now done.

In King William's Box.

Part of lord Sydney's letter to King William.——Account of council.

Feb. 27, 1690-1.

THE diſplacing major Wildman is all the diſcourſe of the town, and generally people are very well ſatisfied with it, and ſo they are with the choice the Queen hath made to ſucceed him. It would have been for your ſervice if it had been kept ſecret till theſe gentlemen were ready to take poſſeſſion of the office, but ſomebody among us could not keep counſell, and ſo it was all over the town before ſir Rob. Cotton came to it. Mr. Frankland is a great way off, and cannot be expected in ſeveral days: I do not much know him, but he hath ſo good a character, that I do not doubt his deſerving the favour that is ſhow'd him. I find my lord Preſident does not approve of the choice, and his chief objection is, becauſe one is a Whig and the other a Tory, which he ſaith is the moſt deſtructive method Your Majeſty can take. I confeſſe I cannot agree with him in this opinion; but beſides, this is not the caſe, for they are both very moderate men. He hath been of late very peeviſh, and continually complaining; I am not his confident, and he hath almoſt told me that he would retire in a very little time. My lord Marlborough behaves himſelf much better than he did at firſt after Your Majeſty's going away; he is now pretty diligent, and ſeldom fails the committees. My lord Godolphin comes not often, but he hath a good excuſe for it, which is the treaſury.

Lord

Lord Godolphin to King William.———Lord Godolphin's bad opinion of the marquis of Caermarthen. In King William's box.

March 20, 1690-1.

SIR Rob. Howard was laſt week very like to die of the gout in his ſtomach; the reverſion of his place is granted by patent to the preſent earl of Danby. This patent I have often been told is not good in law, and I believe it; beſides, ſir Rob. Howard has two offices in the exchequer, whereof one only is grantable by the King, and the other is in the gift of the treaſury. I take it for granted that Your Majeſty, unleſs you were obliged to do it by law, would never chuſe out the earl of Danby, of all England, to fill that officer's place, thro' whoſe hands all your own revenue, all the public money of the kingdom, and all the accompts of both the one and the other are to paſs; and for theſe reaſons, if the caſe does happen, I ſhall think it my duty to refuſe to admit him (as far as it depends of me) till the right of the patent be determined, unleſs Your Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to ſignify your pleaſure, that you would give the place to him, tho' there were no patent in the caſe, which, I confeſs, I think you would no more do than you would make him a biſhop.

Part of a letter from the marquis of Caermarthen to King William.———Complains of the oppoſing party. In King William's box.

22d May, 1691.

WHILST Your Majeſty is contriving ſchemes how to ſave us, and expoſing your perſon for us, ſome are no leſs buſy here in drawing their ſchemes to put all things in diſorder when a parliament ſhall meet, and their principal deſigns are to leſſen your power and increaſe their own; inſomuch that without ſuch a ſucceſs as will be valued here, it is already apparent that our condition will be very deplorable: but I hope the ſame providence which hath conducted Your Majeſty

through ſo many great actions, will help you to ſurmount all difficulties, and make you as happy and great as is moſt truly wiſht by, Sir, &c.

In King William's box.

Lord Brandon to King William.——Complains of having been neglected.

SIR,

WHEN I conſider how true an affection I have ever had for Your Majeſty's perſon, and how early my zeal was ſhown to ſettle and ſupport your government, I cannot but think myſelf very unhappy never to have received the leaſt mark of Your Majeſty's favour. I am the more uneaſy under this neglect and diſcountenance of Your Majeſty, ſince it has been the occaſion of my loſing my rank in the army, where I think I ſhould be moſt capable to ſerve you. I know not how I was miſrepreſented to Your Majeſty at your firſt coming into England, but ſure Your Majeſty could not think the worſe of me for being faithfull to a king to whom I owed my life, and whoſe commiſſion I therefore believed I ought not to refuſe when 'twas offered me; but this I thought myſelf obliged in honour to be true to my truſt: both my principles and my inclinations were always on Your Majeſty's ſide; and when King James was gone away, I am ſure no man came to you with a more ſincere intention to ſerve you than myſelf; what diſcouragements I have met with ſince, I deſire not to remember, as I hope Your Majeſty will pleaſe to forget any miſtake I may have made in the way I have taken to carry on your ſervice and promote your intereſt, which has been at all times my deſign, how much ſoever I may have miſapprehended the manner of doing it. Not to trouble you, ſir, too long, my great ambition is to ſerve Your Majeſty in the army, becauſe I think I can there do you moſt ſervice; and if Your Majeſty would not have me believe I am quite loſt in your thoughts, I humbly deſire Your Majeſty will pleaſe to place me there in ſuch a poſt as is ſuitable to what I

may

may juſtly pretend, of which I ſhall deſire to make Your Majeſty, who is the beſt able to be ſo, the ſole judge. I ſuppoſe, ſir, Your Majeſty knows I have ſerved abroad under the prince of Condé; that after that I was firſt a lieutenant-colonel, then a colonel 13 years ago; that no man except my lord of Oxford, and ſir John Laniere was colonels before me. I do but juſt mention my pretenſions to lay them at your feet, and to ſubmit them wholly to you; and as I cannot but expect all kind of right from Your Majeſty's juſtice, ſo I do aſſure Your Majeſty, when I am once by Your Majeſty's favour placed in the army in ſuch a rank as is proper for me, I will never aſk Your Majeſty to raiſe me higher till Your Majeſty ſhall yourſelf judge it for your ſervice to do ſo. I am with the utmoſt reſpect and duty,

Your Majeſty's moſt faithfull, and
moſt obedient humble ſubject
and ſervant, to command,
BRANDON.

Lord Sidney to King William, about the ſecond conſpiracy.—Pen's confeſſion. In King William's box.

SIR, Feb. the 27th, 1690-1.

ABOUT ten days ago, Mr. Pen ſent his brother-in-law, Mr. Lowther, to me, to let me know that he would be very glad to ſee me, if I would give him leave, and promiſe him to let him return without being moleſted; I ſent him word I would, if the queen would permitt it: he then deſired me not to mention it to any body but the queen; I ſaid I would not: a Monday he ſent to me to know what time I would appoint; I named Wedneſday in the evening, and accordingly I went to the place at the time, where I found him juſt as he uſed to be, not at all diſguiſed, but

in the same cloaths, and the same humour I formerly have seen him in: it would be too long for Your Majesty to read a full account of all our discourse, but in short it was this, that he was a true and a faithfull servant to King William and Queen Mary, and if he knew any thing that was prejudiciall to them or their government, he would readily discover it; he protested in the presence of God that he knew of no plot, nor did he believe there was any one in Europe, but what King Lewis hath laid, and he was of opinion that King James knew the bottom of this plot as little as other people: he saith, he knows Your Majesty hath a great many enemies, and some that came over with you, and some that joyned you soon after your arrival, he was sure, were more inveterate against you, and more dangerous than the jacobites, for he saith there is not one man amongst them that hath common understanding. To the letters that were found with my lord Preston, and the paper of the conference, he would not give any positive answer, but said if he could have the honour to see the king, and that he would be pleased to believe the sincerity of what he saith, and pardon the ingenuity of what he confessed, he would freely tell every thing he knew of himself, and other things that would be much for his Majesty's service and interest to know, but if he cannot obtain this favour he must be obliged to quit the kingdom; which he is very unwilling to do. He saith he might have gone away twenty times if he had pleased, but he is so confident of giving Your Majesty satisfaction if you would hear him, that he was resolved to expect your return before he took any sort of measures. What he intends to do, is all he can do for your service, for he can't be a witness if he would, it being, as he saith, against his conscience and his principles to take an oath. This is the sum of our conference, and I am sure Your Majesty will judge as you ought to do of it, without any of my reflections.

The displacing major Wildman is all the discourse of the town, and generally people are very well satisfied with

with it, and so they are with the choice the queen hath made to succeed him.

Part of the marquis of Caermarthen's letter to King William, on the same subject.—Lord Preston's confession.—Political use to be made of it. In King William's box.

3 Feb. 1690-1.

MY lord Preston hath, since his last paper, made some addition to his confession, though not very considerable; viz. that sir Edward Seymour told him that king James was betrayed by James Porter, and that lord Nottingham had said a peace would be made with France exclusive of king James. That lord Weymouth was with him, together with sir Edward Seymour, and that both of them knew of his going into France. That lord Annandale and sir James Montgomery had been at his house in their way to Scotland, where they spoke very discontentedly against your government. That he met Neale Paine in his way to Scotland, who told him he had commissions for divers persons in that kingdom from king James. The said Paine told him that Ferguson had his pardon, and managed things for them at London; and that Wildman was a well-wisher to their cause. That duke Hamilton had his pardon, and lord Argyle was their friend; and I think said he had his pardon, but I am not certain, having not yet seen his last confession in writing. This being what my lord has said already, and that perhaps he may yet recollect more, I submit to Your Majesty whether it may not be more for the service to continue him (as he now is) till further order, without any reprieve, till the meeting of parliament; where his declaration of these matters will break the teeth of sir Edward Seymour, but of that whole party, from doing your business any harm in parliament. It will also be an ingredient to put a parliament into an humour for your service. It will also shew the designs intended in Scotland, and Paine's negociations

gociations there; and you may reserve what part of that matter you shall think fit.

He is also the only witness both against my lord Clarendon, the bishop of Ely, and Pen, whereas by his execution you disappoint all these ends; and in my opinion it will not be to Your Majesty's disadvantage, if you should think fit to shew your clemency, rather than draw any more blood on this occasion.

In King William's box.

Lord Nottingham to king William.——Crone and lord Preston's confession.——Opinion of judges taken.——Political use to be made of the confessions.

SIR,

MR. Crone has made oath of the truth of all that is contained in the papers of which I lately sent copies to my lord Sydney: and Mr. Attorney has made his report of what persons are accused by my lord Preston or Crone, and of the nature of their several crimes, which is high treason in all, except my lord Halifax, whose offence is only misprision.

Against the earl of Clarendon, Mr. Grahme, and Mr. Pen, there are two witnesses which are sufficient in law to convict them; but against the lady Dorchester, the lord Dartmouth, Layton, Lawton, and the bishop of Ely, there is but one witness, which is not sufficient to convict them of treason, no more than my lord Halifax of misprision; but Mr. Attorney added, that they might nevertheless be prosecuted for misdemeanor, which last is a point of so great importance, being never known before the case of Mr. Hampden, in the late reign, that the queen thought fit, by the advice of the committee, to require the opinion of all the judges upon it; and this morning my lord chief justice acquainted her majesty, that four judges (of which himself was one) were positive in their opinion, that a person accused by one witness only of high treason, could not be indicted for it as a misdemeanor; two judges more, though doubtful, inclined to the same opinion; one

one was altogether doubtful; and the other three declared themſelves in the affirmative: hereupon her majeſty does not think it adviſeable to revive a method of proſecution which in the late reign was look'd upon as odious, though the then judges called it legal. Since therefore they cannot be proceeded againſt for treaſon for want of another witneſs, nor for miſdemeanor becauſe their crime is treaſon or miſpriſion: the next conſideration was whether they ſhould be ſeized and committed: this is not a queſtion of law, for 'tis clear they may, but of prudence: and the committee inclines for the preſent at leaſt, 'tis better not to do it; becauſe 'tis certain they cannot be brought to a trial; and after ſome time, and an ineffectual attempt to bring them to it, they will be diſcharged; and none of the conſiderable perſons, except the biſhop of Ely, are running away, or like to do ſo, and therefore may at any time be arreſted, and ſo will be, if any ſuch misfortune ſhould happen to Your Majeſty's armies or fleet as might encourage an inſurrection: but if Your Majeſty thinks it more uſeful to the ſervice to have all or any of them ſeized, your orders ſhall be immediately obeyed: but I beg leave to offer one thing to Your Majeſty's conſideration, which I have mentioned to the queen only, and it is, that probably ſome of theſe may deſign to obſtruct and diſturb your affairs in parliament; but this they will not dare to do while they are under apprehenſions of being proſecuted themſelves, which they will no longer be after they have been confined, and find there is no matter or no proof againſt them; and ſince people do expect to ſee great fruits of my lord Preſton's diſcovery, they will be very much diſappointed to ſee it reduced to ſo narrow a compaſs, and that ſo little can be done upon it; and for this reaſon it may perhaps be better to keep it ſecret a little longer, and this may alſo keep others in awe who know themſelves, though we do not know them, to be guilty.

As for Grahme and Pen, againſt whom there are two witneſſes, Mr. Attorney has orders to proſecute them to

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an outlawry, by which they will be attainted, and though the late biſhop of Ely be accuſed by one only, yet there being ſome material circumſtances againſt him, and it being likely that he will not dare to appear, he will undergo the like proceſs too.

But the committee thinks it will be beſt to delay the trial of my lord Clarendon, not only for what I humbly offered to Your Majeſty in my laſt, but becauſe there paſt a vote in the Houſe of Lords, that a peer cannot be tried out of parliament, which though it be illegal, and can never be ſupported in the matter or form of making it, yet may probably influence many lords, who were zealous for this vote, to decline attendance at his trial, which would be very prejudicial to your ſervice: and this may prove an occaſion of reverſing this vote, which will be more uſeful than the preſent proſecution of the earl of Clarendon.

I humbly wait Your Majeſty's commands in theſe matters, and am, with great duty and ſubmiſſion,

Your Majeſty's moſt obedient, and
moſt faithful ſubject, and ſervant,

Whitehall, June 26, 91. NOTTINGHAM.

In King William's box.

Part of a letter from the marquis of Caermarthen to king William.—More of the conſpiracy.

11th Sept. 1691.

I SUPPOSE my lord Nottingham gives Your Majeſty an account of ſome intercepted letters, which ſhew what tampering there is betwixt ſome Scotchmen and ſome Engliſh for promoting the late King's intereſt; by which it is to be ſeen that ſome men are not to be made honeſt by obligations.

Sir

Sir Robert Howard to King William.——A ſudden attack to be made in parliament upon his prerogative. In King William's box.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

IT has been a great affliction to mee, that by ſoe long a fitt of the gout I have been hinder'd from waitinge on Your Majeſty; but while I live, the affection and duty I have to your perſon and government, ſhall never faill of their attendance, whenever any occaſion requires it.

That which now happens to be the cauſe of givinge Your Majeſty this trouble I have communicated to my lord Godolphin, with whoſe approbation and opinion I humbly preſent it, and to whom I have committed this, to be ſafely convey'd to Your Majeſty.

The buſineſſe (which I have received from very good intelligence by particular friends of mine) is a deſign carry'd on by a very great party, that the war both by ſea and land ſhould be managed by a committee of parliament, and this intelligence ſeems to be made good by the manner of the proceedings of the commiſſioners for accounts, who act ſoe unlimited, and in many things exceedinge there pow'r, that it ſeems plainly to be a method in order to ſuch a deſigne; and as formerly an abjuration of any other pow'r has been refuſed, this ſeems an abjuration of Your Majeſtys.

I am likewiſe informed, that the ſame partys will make all the ſtrength they can to oppoſe the givinge of exciſes, and this preſent parliament has appeared very refractory in that matter, without which 'twill be very difficult to carry on the war, or to diſcharge the debts in peace.

I humbly ſubmit it to Your Majeſty's conſideration, whether a new parliament may not be a prevention of ſuch deſigns, and probably proceed ſooner to the buſineſſe of mony than this, where the contrivance is already lay'd for many things to preceed the giving of it.

I hope

I hope I need not beg Your Majeſty's pardon for this preſumption, ſince you have been ever pleas'd ſoe graciouſly to receive the teſtimonys of the ſincere duty and ſerviſe of

Your Majeſty's moſt dutifull, and
moſt obedient ſubject,

July the laſt, 1691. RO. HOWARD.

Among lord Nottingham's memorandums, in Doctor Percy's hands, there is the following:

FROM Paris 'tis ſaid there is an account that the king of Fr. told the late queen, ſhe muſt excuſe him if he no longer gave any account of King James his affairs, only of his health ſhe ſhould be informed; but that advice was ſent to England, and that he could lay his finger on ſome had done it, tho' he would not name them; however, 'tis ſaid ſuch hints were given that my lady Sophia Buckley is under an arreſt, and ſome ſay put in the Baſtile, for holding correſpondence with my lord Godolphin. There are others who give other reaſons, and ſay, la. Sophia was very curious in prying into all that paſt at St. Germain's, and ſending accounts of all to Ireland.

In the duke of Hamilton's poſſeſſion.

Sir John Dalrymple, afterwards ſecretary Stair, to the duke of Hamilton.——Beginning of differences between the duke of Hamilton and lord Stair.

May it pleaſe your Grace, London, May 18, 1689.

I HAD the honour to receive your grace's, though I came here on the Wedneſday, yet my brethren went without me to Hampton-court, where they delivered the letter and what elſe was committed to us; and now I underſtand, by what was moved in the convention, that this was premeditated, though not approven in the houſe.

Secretary

Secretary Stair to the duke of Hamilton.——Reſpectful to the duke; yet inſinuating the ſuſpicions entertained of him. In the duke of Hamilton's poſſeſſion.

May it pleaſe your Grace, London, May, 30, 1689.

I HUMBLY acknowledge the honour of your ſecond; the letter from the committee gives no ſatisfaction here. It is underſtood that your grace did moderate the forwardneſs of ſome in the convention; but the very propoſals inſinuate diffidence in the king's management. The conſequences of miſtakes at this time, when our deliverance is not perfected, may be fatal. Theſe ſent here, ſeeing the king is determined, have looked about for a balance in our government, and to take their own ſhares. I do not believe it in the power of your grace's enemies, or malice itſelf, to prevail with the king to neglect the ſervices you have done, and are capable to render him. I confeſs it's hard to receive inſtructions at ſecond hand, but I ſhould be heartily ſorry, both upon the account of the publick, and your grace's intereſt, if any thing ſhould induce you to mar ſo fair a work; it might juſtify the ſurmiſes your grace points at, and gratify thoſe who inſinuate, your grace had more regard to yourſelf than the publick, ſhould you ſtop upon the reſentment that you have not been adviſed in the diſpoſal of the publick offices or truſts. This ſeſſion cannot be long; the king and the world muſt be ſenſible, that none beſides your grace, can bring this ſeſſion to a happy and peaceable concluſion, upon which very much depends: for my father he lives in the country very abſtract, and yet I ſee ſome ſtill retain their humour againſt him. For myſelf I have taken occaſion to ſignify very little. But I am ſure, I did not fail to avouch the ſenſe I had of the great ſervice your grace hath done to the crown, and your country, in the convention, and how well you did acquit yourſelf there. I cannot doubt when your grace attends the king,

king, all your concerns will be adjuſted to your ſatisfaction, which ſhall be welcome to none more, than to,

May it pleaſe your grace, &c.

In the duke of Hamilton's poſſeſſion.

Secretary Stair to the duke of Hamilton.——The king's ſentiments of toleration in Scotland.

Hague, Feb. 13, O. S. 1690-1.

May it pleaſe your grace,

I HAVE ſent the doubles of two letters from his Majeſty for your grace's uſe. We were at firſt ſurpriſed here, when the notice came, that the commiſſion of the general aſſembly did ſit during his Majeſty's abſence, and that they had depoſed five miniſters at the firſt down-ſitting. Now we do underſtand that the king's pleaſure anent their adjournment, was not intimated to them, ſo they cannot be blamed for their diſobedience; but I wiſh they may conſider for the future, what they muſt ſee to be the king's ſentiments, that they do unite with ſuch of thoſe who formerly ſerved under epiſcopacy, and are worthy to be retained in the miniſtery.

In King William's box.

Part of the marquis of Caermarthen's letter to King William.——Lord Caermarthen's ſentiments on the ſame ſubject.

27 Feb. 1690-1.

I HOPE Your Majeſty has true informations of things from Scotland, and if you have, I doubt not but you will give ſpeedy directions to put a ſtop to the giddy proceedings of the commiſſioners of the aſſembly againſt all the epiſcopal clergy of Scotland at one blow; who are to be turned out of doors with their families, unleſs they will renounce prelacy, to which they are ſworn, ſo that they are not to keep their livings unleſs they will preſerve them by perjury.

I have given my lord Sidney a memorial, which I have received from two Scots miniſters who were ſent to

Your

Your Majesty by a great number of the episcopal clergy, but they came here after your departure, by which Your Majesty will see, that the commissioners were to begin their progress the first of March, guarded with two troops of horse; but they cannot be gone so far in their work, before Your Majesty's orders may reach them, but if you please they may be ordered not to proceed further in that matter till Your Majesty's pleasure be known; and truly I believe that the speedy doing of this may be of no less consequence than the preventing a rebellion, and at a time when nothing but the folly of clergymen would have put it to a venture.

Secretary Stair to the duke of Hamilton.——Apology for his behaviour to the duke in the convention parliament. In the duke of Hamilton's possession.

May it please your grace, London, Jan. 13, 1691.

MEN are ofttimes carried by their circumstances beyond their intentions or interest. It's undeniable I have both received and given your grace cause of resentment and complaint. As I frankly forgive whatever I got of that nature, so I humbly ask your grace's pardon for what injurys I have offered you, which never went beyond words. I do believe it on your grace's part, and I dare say for myself, these were not the effect of malice or design, but sudden emotions arising from the different apprehensions of the ends or methods we did then pursue; and the office of king's advocate did oblige me to challenge every body without distinction, that had not our word.

Lord Drumlanrig to King William.——The State of Scotland.——Great heats.——Complains of the King's ministers. In King William's Box.

SIR,

TO have written sooner to Your Majesty, had been with less certainty, and therefore I delayed

it till now. I have taken pains to discover the condition of Your Majesty's affairs here, whereof in so far as I can learn I shall now give a just account. I find this country mightily divided, not so much for or against Your Majesty's interest and government, as about the methods of serving you, and the persons employed therein: for the first, the too precipitant and hard procedure against the clergy has disobliged very many, and the misery those men so turned out are under, increases their compassion for them, and thereby their dislike at those who they look upon as the authors of it: besides this, the government is not in very good hands, they being generally men who never before were in business, and the weakness both for interest and parts of most of them, lessens their authority, so that, it's thought, what trouble Your Majesty meets with from this kingdom, is in a great measure to be ascribed to their mismanagement; when I have the honour to wait upon Your Majesty, I shall be more particular about this and other things, if you think fit to command me. The club, as it's called here, are extreamly diligent, and seem very confident to carry the plurality in this parliament; Your Majesty's commissioner and those with him, seem not to be out of hopes to carry what their instructions bear, only I can assure Your Majesty if they do, it will be with struggling. I have spoke fully to my father in Your Majesty's concerns, and to be impartial and free with Your Majesty, whose interest I prefer to all things in the world, I must tell you, that I find him much disobliged, thinking himself under the feet of those in the government; he uses greater reserve with me now than formerly, the reason of which I will make bold to acquaint Your Majesty with, when I have the honour to kiss your hand: by what I can understand, he is not yet determined whether to go to the parliament or not; but if he goes, I am afraid he will differ with your commissioner and his party, about the model they have put your affairs in here; he protests to me that it's out of respect to Your Majesty, and concern for your service, makes

him

him do so; however I will appeal to Your Majesty's commissioner to bear witness for me how much I have laboured to beget a good understanding between him and those you are pleased to entrust at this time, that your affairs at present suffer not by their differences, but all is like to prove ineffectual, which makes me wish to be gone from this place. I have not seen any of Your Majesty's forces here, except those in this town; they are not well cloathed, and do promise very little; I am told they are all of a piece. The Danish troops which I saw in their way to Ireland, are well mounted and in good order. Forgive, sir, this trouble; I presume rather upon your pardon for it, than be wanting in my duty to contribute all in my power for your information at this distance. I am, with all duty and respect,

SIR,
Your Majesty's
Edr. March 29, 1690. most faithfull, most humble, and most obedient subject, and servant,
DRUMLANRIG.

Lord Melville to King William.—On the same subject.—Great heats.——Complains of the opposers of the ministers. In King William's box.

May it please Your Majestie, 20 March, 1690.

IN obedience to Your Majesty's commands in your letters wherewith you honoured me, I called a council yesterday, where Your Majesty's letter for adjournment of the parl. was read, and a proclamation ordered for adjournment until the 15th of April, there were but few contrary votes, Yester was not in council, nor the earls of Annandale, Dundonald, lord Ross, sir James Montgomery and one or two more, the council was very full: this adjournment hath occasioned a great consternation, and such who are not desirous of a settlement, endeavour to make a very bad improvement of it,

and to abuſe the people; at firſt they repreſented me as the author of the adjournment, and that it was concerted before I came from London. When they ſee that would not take with rational men, they now would lay it at my lord Stair's door, at whom the great ſpeat runs, not ſo much from reaſon, as out of pike and humour; but I wiſh he were ſo wiſe, as willingly to lay himſelf aſide, though this would not ſatisfy ſome; but there ſeems an infatuation upon people, for we are neither thankfull for mercies, nor ſenſible of our danger as we ought.

I queſtion not but Your Majeſty has had very weighty and good reaſons that moved you to this adjournment, and I partly ſee them. But I was very hopeful, and on very probable grounds, I had carried your affairs in parliament if it had ſit, to Your Majeſty's ſatisfaction, notwithſtanding all the endeavours and big talk to the contrary: what effects this prorogation may have, I cannot yet give Your Majeſty any account; but ſhall be laying myſelf out to the uttermoſt, to prevent the inconveniencies like to follow upon this emergent, for ſome ill-minded men have been at great pains to inflame the country, and thoſe moſt affectionate to your ſervice, and to miſrepreſent Your Majeſty to them, under the worſt characters, and to perſuade them that all the favours pretended and offered to them was but a ſham; that there was never a deſign the parl. ſhould ſit, &c. and now they make uſe of this adjournment as a confirmation of what they formerly aſſerted and ſuggeſted: this poor country is at preſent in the moſt confuſed and diſtracted condition that a nation can be in, not actually to be all in war. The Jacobites, as they call them, are very numerous and barefaced; the preſbyterians, as they are termed, (at leaſt the common people of that ſort, who are not fit judges to diſtinguiſh betwixt realities and fair ſpecious pretences) are alarmed, and abuſed by falſe reports and running inſinuations, by men who love to fiſh in troubled waters, and are but making tools

tools of them to ſerve their own deſigns: there is an army without pay, the country poor, and grumbling, and yet in the opinion of all who wiſh well to Your Majeſty's ſervice, there is an inevitable danger of diſbanding it at this time and without pay, even though they be not ſo well appointed as were to be wiſhed: lieut. gen. Douglaſs profeſſes to be fully of this opinion, and not to be ſatisfied with his brother the duke Q. ſo does his ſon, and often ſaid they can ſay nothing for him, ſo I ſhall ſay nothing concerning him. He is deſirous now to confer with my eldeſt ſon. What paſſes, or ſhall be the reſult, I ſhall acquaint Your Majeſty with. I ſee well enough the deſigns of both the dukes and of ſome of the ring-leaders of the club, who are in ſome concert, as alſo of their being ſo likewiſe with ſome of the jacobites, who have heretofore ſhown themſelves diſſatisfied to Your Majeſty's government; and ſeverals of them who ſtood out formerly, were come to attend the parl. and reſolved to ſwallow the oaths, as I am informed, out of no good deſign. It's in Your Majeſty's power, not ſo much in mine, to fruſtrate their deſigns, but in my humble opinion, it were fit you ſhould make both the dukes know you are not ſatisfied with their carriage as to your ſervice, nor that you will not be forced to make uſe of men againſt your will. I ſhall forbear to inſiſt on this head, leaſt I ſhould be thought partial. I have ſent ſome additional inſtructions to be ſuperſcribed and ſubſigned by Your Majeſty, as alſo a letter for the parliament at it's opening; and if you think fit, two letters to the two dukes: but this I leave altogether to yourſelf. If Your Majeſty thinks it any ways convenient, you may cauſe my ſon tranſcribe them; the others would be haſtened againſt the down-ſitting of the parliament. Though I dare not propoſe it, yet I think it were very uſeful to Your Majeſty's ſervice to let this regiment of Danes horſe ſtay in this country, and take more of ours in lieu of them to Ireland, for it's ſcarce to be imagined

the bad condition this poor kingdom is in at preſent, for many ſeems to be infatuate. I humbly beg Your Majeſty's excuſe for this confuſed and bad writing, having but little time; and wiſh you all health and proſperity. I am,

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

Your Majeſty's moſt humble, faithfull, and obedient ſubject, and ſervant,

Edinb. 20 March at 3 in the morning.

MELVILL.

In King William's box.

Lord Melville to King William.—Great heats—Preſſes the King for preſbytery.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

27 April, 1691.

I HAVE received yours, wherewith Your Majeſty hath honoured me with additional inſtructions, which be carefully and faithfully obſerved, in as far as in my power, and conſiſtent with Your Majeſty's ſervice. Affairs here have altered much of late, but it's only what was covered over before, now more openly appears; there is nothing of it new to me, though it be to others: ſir William Lockhart, or my ſon, will give Your Majeſty an account of the proceedings in parliament yeſterday, and how affairs ſtand here. There was never a nation, or people I believe, more infatuate than we ſeem to be at preſent; the jacobites being joined with the club, have brought in all their ſtrength to the parl. except a very few; ſome three or four noblemen yet ſcruple the oaths. If they had done this laſt year in the convention, the throne might have been yet to declare vacant, as to K. Ja. Whether they will be able to out vote us or not, I know not, but hopes not; but they gained ground by the adjournments, which I know Your Majeſty did on weighty conſiderations, though it had bad effects here. There was but one vote paſt in the houſe yeſterday, and your friends carried by a great many; it's true three or four of the club

club went along when they ſee it going. I touch't the act 1689, reſcinding the act 1669, concerning the ſupremacy; by this time, however it may be miſrepreſented, (which I lay my account with) Your Majeſty looſes nothing which I am confident you would deſire: the reaſons which forced me to give the royal aſſent to thoſe two votes paſt a day or two ſooner than Your Majeſty mentioned was, becauſe, if it had been delayed, it had given the oppoſite party great advantage, and we had looſed many of our own, and would have encreaſed the jealouſies of the people to that height, that it might have been difficult, if not impoſſible, to retrieve: All the wit and malice of men, I may ſay of hell, ſeems to be ſet at work to do miſchief, and with letting things go on too long, by reaſon of Your Majeſty's affairs in England, and my being reſtrained for a time, the combination is become ſtrong, that I do not think it ſafe at preſent to follow theſe methods which otherwiſe might have been fit and convenient; not ſo much that I fear their ſtrength in itſelf, though the party be numerous, but becauſe, by lies and forgeries, they had much abuſed the people. Duke Hamilton was the firſt propoſer and preſſer, that this act concerning the ſupremacy, ſhould be touched; he alſo was the firſt propoſer, that an act might be brought in for liberty of ſpeech. I ſhall make no inferences on this, but I like not the ſmell of it; and yet to ſtop it, will make a great noiſe in England.

I am perſuaded of a correſpondence betwixt ſome here of different parties, and ſome in England; and it's not only expectation from Ireland and France, but that intelligence which helps to keep up people in oppoſition to Your Majeſty's intereſt, and ſettling of the country.

I am ſorry for the limitation Your Majeſty gives, on your own account, and not out of bigotry; but I ſhall endeavour to obſerve what Your Majeſty commands. I am ſtraitened how to find a way to make a breach upon

another head rather than this, for this would do Your Majesty an irreparable prejudice, and give your enemies an extraordinary advantage; so I leave it to Your Majesty's serious consideration what to do in it: for my part, I see no remedy, if Your Majesty do not speedily satisfy your people, but all must go in confusion. Sir, I know I am in hazard to be extremely misrepresented in giving this advice, and that if I did not serve the best master in the world, I might ruin myself by doing it, especially if any thing displeasing should follow it; but I speak my true sentiments as to what I think Your Majesty's interest, abstracted from all parties and persuasions as in the sight of God Almighty. You know I use not to be so; but I am very positive in this, if all the statesmen in Britain should be of another sentiment, that it is truly Your Majesty's interest at this time not to displease the people on this head as to their church government; for nothing else can satisfy. I am displeased enough with many of that profession, and they are prejudging themselves; but Your Majesty need not apprehend, what I find, by Mr. Carstairs, you do. You have enough in your hand to restrain all exorbitancies; the affair is mightily misrepresented in the world, and but by few understood. I am, notwithstanding all this, as little for the pragmaticalness of churchmen as any man in Britain. I think they often need a bridle: I look upon their work as relating to the souls of their people; that they are to use persuasion and no coertion: it's in the magistrate's power, notwithstanding their general assemblies be granted them, to keep them within their bounds; and it is the better for themselves they be so. I might say enough to clear further this, and take off what Tarbat, sir George Mackenzie, and several others often say in this affair, but it's most prejudice and bias moves them. But I weary Your Majesty, and I am not to justify churchmen's miscarriages. You brought two from Holland, one of one persuasion, and one of another, has

has done more miſchief than thouſands: but I ſay this only, though there were greater ground to apprehend prejudice than there is, it ſeems altogether neceſſary to give way to it at this time if the people preſs it, even though Your Majeſty were inclined to alter all. If the country were once come to a ſettlement, men will change in many things. I beg ten thouſand pardons for this preſumption, but the weightineſs of the affair preſſes me; for to loſe the people whom you can only confide in, when you have none to truſt beſide, were of very dangerous conſequence.

Remark.] The two clergymen here meant were Burnet and Ferguſon. Carſtairs was the friend of lord Melville.

Sir Patrick Hume, afterwards earl of Marchmont, to king William.——Preſſes to ſettle moderate preſbytery. In King William's box.

SIR,

I HAVE written fully to the E. of Portland how things paſſed in parliament ſince the 1ſt of May: now that the act concerning committees is paſt, and that committees are reſolved to be choſen upon ſeverall motions, as the ſetleing of the church, the ſupply to be raiſed for the army, and the freedom of the members of parl. the ſtrength of our ſide appears ſo conſiderable, as puts it out of doubt, that Your Ma. and theſe who cordially ſerve your intereſt and the nation's, have matters in their hands, to diſpoſe of them to the beſt advantage: The happy victory got over Your M. enemies in the north upon the 1ſt of May laſt, and the advantages we had this day in the houſe, have ſo animated friends, and ſo damped enemies and violent or irritated ſpirits, that the firſt are almoſt freed from fears, confiding in God and in the comfort and ſupport which they expect from Your Ma. yet our oppoſits are ſo pertinacious in their miſchievous pains, that now they buſie themſelves

themſelves in ſpreading reports, upon pretended accounts from England, that Your Ma. will not ſetle the church government here, being apprehenſive of the power of generall aſſemblies, but will put a long adjournment upon the parl. There is no way in the world ſo apt to make the multitude beſt affected to Your Ma. to ſtartle, as this is; therefor whatever may be ſuggeſted to Your Ma. about that matter, I ſhall here lay before you both what is intended, and what I doubt not ſhall be got accompliſhed, if Your Ma. allow this parl. which is now ſo well fixed to your intereſt, to continue ſitting and acting: 1°, The deſign in the church ſetlement is, that no general aſſembly have any power legiſlative over the biedges, this being ſolely in the hands of the King and parl. but that their power ſhall only extend in the way of judicature in judging and ſentencing thoſe of their own communion, in reference to doctrine and diſcipline, and their ſentences to take no civil effect either againſt one's perſon or goods; only to debar, or at moſt cut off from their church communion: 2°, That the King have power to call generall aſſemblies upon emergent occaſions, if he think fitt; and that in generall aſſemblies, whether called by the King, or conveened by authority of the church, the King, if he ſo pleaſe, may have his commiſſioner to ſitt with them, to ſee to their diligent and orderly deportment and procedure: 3°, That all ſort of perſecution upon church differences be prevented and ſecured againſt: If theſe things be provided for in the church ſettlement, it is hardly poſſible that the government in the church keeping within theſe bounds, can ever claſh or interfere with the civil policy and government of the nation; I am perſwaded Your Ma. needs not, upon any ſuch jealouſie, delay to finiſh the eſtabliſhing that forme ſo much deſired by your good people, and which will ſo unite their hearts to your ſervice: Indeed, if Your Ma. affaires there neceſſarly require a delay of thoſe things here, it is a misfortune for which I am heartily

heartily ſory ; but if it be unevitable, I beſeech Your Ma. to let your commiſſioner know it timeouſly, and I wiſh my ſelfe alſo to know it, that according as may be poſſible, the beſt may be made of it, which I am affraid may be bad enough ; but the utmoſt endeavours ſhall not be wanting to fitt and accommodate all the requiſites of Your Ma. affairs there or here : as to the ſupply of money, I hope it ſhall be brought to a conſiderable paſs, yet more as a fond of credit, than a preſent ſum in caſh ; for it will take ſome time to raiſe that, therefore, as I wrote laſt to my lord Portland, if ſome money could be furniſhed, for the preſent need, from thence, it would be of great uſe : and I am confident, in a ſhort ſpace, we ſhall have this kingdom in a condition, that Your Ma. may well reckon upon it as a conſiderable ſtay to reſt upon, in reference to all your affairs both at home and abroad ; but I ſhall trouble Your Ma. no farder at this time, only praying for Your Ma. long life, happineſs, and proſperity. I remain,

Pleaſe Your Ma.

Edinbourg, 8 May, 1690.

Your Ma. moſt obedient ſubject, and moſt faithfull ſervant,
PAT. HUME.

Sir Patrick Hume, afterwards earl of Marchmont, to King William.—State of parties in Scotland.

In King William's box.

SIR,

I HAVE hitherto delayed writing to Your Ma. (ſave one petition which I ſent) ſince our parlement mett, knowing that accounts were given by the commiſſioner. Now I conceave it neceſſary to lay before Your Ma. what I do evidently diſcerne in your affairs here, and of the pretenders to your ſervice. The houſe of parlement divides in two parties ; the one is made up of about 52 of theſe called addreſſers, and 43 others that joined not in that addreſs, in all about 95, who go one way with

Your

Your Ma. commiſſioner in what concerns your ſervice and the publick good: the other party is made up of about 20 of the addreſſers and 46 others, who are eſteemed the favorers of the late king, in all about 66. In reality all theſe, to the exception of a few, not exceeding 20 at moſt, are ſuch as either have too great kindneſs for the late king, or too little for Your Ma. and the country. There are among theſe ſome men able and crafty, who leave no means untryed to run this kingdom in confuſion, which has given good men much labour to counterworke: they have prevailed with almoſt all the Jacobites to come in to the parliament, and to ſwallow down the oath of allegiance, that they may be capable to mar what is deſigned for Your Ma. intereſt. The whole pack, whatever is in their hearts, pretend to be the patrons of the kingdom's liberties, and beyond others zealous for the preſbyterial government in this church; they would have Your Ma. commiſſioner, and theſe who go along with him, believed to be reconciled to prelacy and to arbitrary government alſo, provided it be put in Your Ma. hands: While we labour for a true and moderate preſbytery, conſiſtent with the civil government, they call that a minceing, and cry up that which, by the acknowledgment of all moderate men, had deborded unto great exceſſes, as the government in the pureſt times, as the beſt curb to the exorbitancies of monarchy that can be: while we plead for maintaining and paying the army, they ſay grievances muſt be firſt redreſſed. In the mean time, your Ma. may gueſs by whoſe means rumours are ſpread, that there is no intention of ſettling the church, of redreſſing any grievances, but when money is got to diſſolve this parliament. Theſe things have put us in great difficulties. Indeed Your Ma. commiſſioner and many others have been at much pains, and by the jealouſies raiſed by that party, in much difficulty till now, that the giving the royal aſſent to the act reſcinding the eccleſiaſtic ſupremacy, and to that reſtoring

reſtoring the outed miniſters, which the Jacobite party preſſed earneſtly, thinking it would not be granted, has much ſatisfied the people, and removed the jealouſy as to the church government. I cannot think but all Your Ma. affairs will carry ſtrongly here, if you are pleaſed to truſt your commiſſioner, who is as cordially concerned as I think any man can be for Your Ma. intereſt, with inſtructions and truſt ample enough for occaſions that may fall in. I muſt ſay he takes my opinion much in all things; I hope Your Ma. ſervice ſhall not fare the worſe; he can tell Your Ma. what part I have acted; I will ſay nothing of that, but ſhall ſtudy to be as good as my word to Your Ma. This is what I have to ſay in general, and I ſhall very ſoon give a more full and particular account. Now I preſume to kiſs Your Ma. hands, as,

Pleaſe Your Ma.

Your Ma. moſt obedient ſubject,
and moſt faithful ſervant,
PAT. HUME.

Edinbourgh,
25 April, 1690.

Lord Tarbat, afterwards earl of Cromarty, to King William—on the ſtate of parties in Scotland. In King William's box.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

I HAVE not heard from col. Hill, ſince he went North, nor could he ſo ſoone have any returne from any of theſe cheefs, and untill I heare from him (for by him I did writt to them) I can ſay nothing of importance as to that matter.

I need not tell how unexſpected ſucceſſe Your Majeſtie's commiſſioner hath had hitherto in this parl, it hath aſtoniſhed thoſe who were oppoſite to Your Maj. ſervice, and yett I cannot ſay that they have given over there deſigns, for he hath as great difficulty to retaine thoſe he gained, as in the gaining of them at firſt; for theſe preſbiterians are ſo bigotted and hott in there humor,

humor, as that no midle thing will pleaſe them: his firſt ſtepp was of neceſſity to touch the act reſcinding the act of ſupremacy, 1669, or to loſſe a great number, who had weell neare joined the clubb, on his demurring on it for a day. That of reſcinding the articles, was the next condition of their adherence. And by theſe hitherto he hath not only caried the plurality by many, contrare to a confidence in his opponents, but alſo he hath diſcouradged, divided, and brought over ſeveralls of the other ſide. But, Sir, until he eſtabliſh preſbitry to a great hight, he cannot affirm them as ſure to Your Majeſtie's ſervice; for his adverſares are inceſſantly raſeing jealouſies in them, as if this were not deſigned; and if it be not, it's like they will cary over him what is yett to be done for Your Maj. ſervice: and I am apprehenſive they will likewiſe have the patronages of churches taken away.

It's true, Sir, theſe are great conceſſiones; but as matters are now ſtated, there may be exceeding danger in diſoblieging them; for what courſe ſo violent a people may take is not eaſily foreſeen; and ſome who in that caſe will lead and influence them, are, I fear, of no principle, ſufficient to regulat ether there ambition or malice; and if once theſe hot people be ſtirred, they are with eaſe driven to exceſſes and extravagances, tho' to their owne ruine.

And at the ſamne time the Jacobines are not only numerous, but very much increaſced; and will not miſſe to make uſe of theſe diſſatisfactiones in the preſbiterian party, to hurt Your Maj. intereſt. So Your Ma. may be pleaſed to weigh the inconvenience of haveing the major part of the parl. as yett to go off from your commiſſ. and the evils that will follow on that, whilſt yow have no other party aſſured to yow, wherby yow will gett none or litle money to pay your army; the courſe that the diſcontented will take is uncertaine; and Your Maj. enimies will be incouradged and ſtrengthened; with the the evils on the other ſide, by quitting perhaps

neceſſare

neceſſare prerogatives of the crowne, and giveing too looſe reins to a clergy, both which may be retrived, when Your Maj. great effaires are in better circumſtances, and when yow get a conſiderable part of the powerfull nobility and gentry of this nation to joine cordially in your intereſts; and it is not to be doubted, but that the commiſſ. will grant as litle as is poſſible, without loſſeing them; and he is now indeavouring to bring over ſuch noblmen and gentlmen as will give any propable aſſurance of fidelity to Your Maj. tho' hitherto they have ſhewed too indiſcreet diſſatisfaction, tho' they deny it to be from any attachment to K. James, which a litle tyme will more diſcover. In this I am imploying my ſelf, for except to be in parliam^{t}. when alleadgance was given to Your Maj. I have not been in it, both becauſe the leſſe I appeare with the comm. the more it pleaſes ſeverals of the hotter heads; and alſo becauſe I nether would concurr in the reſcinding of the ſupremacy or articles, nor will I concurr in eſtabliſhing the deſignd preſbitry, nor takeing away of patronages, as I told Your Maj. when I had the honor to wait on yow, and as yow then allowed me, tho' I heare ſome of my good friends wold even in this miſrepreſent me. But I feare no malice, ſince I reſt confident in Your Majeſtie's favour to me and my fidelity to Your Majeſty and your royall intereſt.

Sir, I doubt if the commiſſ. can tell definitely what he could have your warrand for, the humors he hath to doe with is ſo uncertaine; ſo that a latitude is neceſſaire for him, if you doe not reſolve to have the parl. riſe in diſſatisfaction, which at this tyme, and when Your Maj. hath ſo little aſſurance of the other ſide, were ane advice that no faithfull man dare give.

I find the D. of Queenſberry, E. Lithgow, E. Balcares, E. Broadalbin, and ſeverall others, much changed to the better; and ſome of them have this day employed me to indeavour an underſtanding betwixt the comm. and them: he is cautious, and on good grounds, for there

there are many of the weaker people who now joine, and make his number in parliam^t. who would desert him, if they thought he would associat with wicked us: but he hath allowed me to try it quietly; and as their ingenuity appears, so he will move: but if on the one hand he cary the parliam^t. and on the other he bring off severall considerable persones, both from the Jacobines and clubb, I will adventure to say, he hath served Your Maj. above what was possible for any other to doe (that I know) in our present state. His sonne the lo. Raith hath resolved to lett his commission of treasurer deput ly for some tyme, lest it give umbrage to any in this criticall tyme, unless he find it usefull for Your Majestie's service, to publish it presently; for if people be constant, the comm. hath enough of plurality; and this generosity in Raith is the more, that he could not be perswaded to declare it now, least it should losse one vote to Your Maj. albeit all of us thought he might owne it.

Your majesty's command for giving this kind of trouble raised a boldness for dooing it, in,

May it please your majesty,
Your majesty's most humble,
most faithfull, and most obedient
subject and servant,
TARBAT.

Edinb.
13 May, 1690.

In the duke of Hamilton's possession.

Lord Basil Hamilton to his father.—The duke has taken offence because not made chancellor.—Warns him against differing with secretary Stair.

London, 12 Dec. 1691.

I DOUBT not but you have heard of great changes that were made in the Scotch affairs, and particularly that there was to be a chancellor. I took occasion to speak to the king upon it, and told him that I heard he was going to make such alterations in his affairs in Scotland, which would put your grace out of all

all condition of ſerving him any longer in the government, if it was true that I heard, of his going to make a chancellor. He told me he had taken no ſuch reſolution, nor was reſolved yet upon any thing; and upon ſome things that I was ſaying to him of ill offices that ſome people did your grace, he thought I meant the ſecretary Staires, and told me he had always found him very much your friend. I anſwered that I was ſure that the difference betwixt you did his Majeſty's intereſt no good; and for my part, I would always do what lay in my power towards it. I cannot believe but you wrong that man extremely. I ſhall not pretend to know much of Scotch affairs, but I cannot ſee by all I can perceive here, that there is any body in the government you would have had better quarter with than him. I believe his credit here, as yet, is as great as any body's, though I hear that Tarbat gains ground every day. To tell your grace the truth of all the parties that are here, I find very few that do not their endeavours to make a government without your grace. You know the proverb, Out of ſight out of mind. I ſhall ſtrive to give your grace an account by the next poſt of what is the king's thoughts as to your particular. In the mean time I wiſh your grace would not exclaim at preſent, nor be ſo violent againſt Staires and his ſon.

Lord Baſil Hamilton to the Duke of Hamilton—on the ſame ſubject.

In the duke of Hamilton's poſſeſſion.

London, 19th Dec. 1691.

THE Maſter of Stairs complains extremely that your grace ſhould be ſo much, upon all occaſions, doing of him all the ill offices lies in your power. I know not if I be impoſed on by him, but I am ſure he has convinced me, that he has done your grace no ill offices to deſerve your anger; and that Tweedle's being chancellor is none of his making, if it ſhould be ſo.

In the duke of Hamilton's poſſeſſion.

Lord Baſil Hamilton to the duke his father.——The duke affronted by the appointment of a chancellor.

London, 5th January, 1692.

I AM ſorry I cannot give your grace ſo full an anſwer to your long letter of the 29th of December, as I intended, for I could have no time with the ſecretary, he is ſo buſy; but I hope by the next poſt to give your grace a fuller account of all our Scotch affairs, though, I am afraid, not to either of our ſatisfaction; for the E. of Tweedle is certainly chancellor, and his patent ſigned to-day. I aſked the king to have ſpoken to him, but he ſhunned it; for he doubted what I had to ſay, and I believe had not an anſwer ready. I ſhall not ſay much at this time; but my opinion is, that whatever the king does, you ſhould not ſhow any reſentment, nor write of your demitting, till you hear more of it; and really I think the beſt you can do, would be to go to the country at this conjuncture, and not be in town. I hope your grace will pardon me, if I put you in mind of patience at this conjuncture, for I am ſure there is need of it; and whatever happens, I am ſure it will be to your advantage to take it rather ſo than otherwiſe. I have ſpoke to lord Carmichell, and aſked him about his being of the opinion of the neceſſity of there being a chancellor, and againſt your being it: he proteſted he never either ſaid, or thought any ſuch thing; and indeed, I muſt confeſs, I have always found him very friendly, and I believe he has been very juſt to your grace ſince his coming hither. He told me he never heard you mentioned as to that place; and that he had obeyed your commands in telling the Maſter of Staires, that if there was a chancellor put over your head, you would not continue in the government any longer.

Lord

Lord Baſil Hamilton to the duke his father.——Entreats him not to ſhew his ſenſe of injuries. In the duke of Hamilton's poſſeſſion.

London, 12th January, 1692.

I HAVE had your grace's of the 5th of this month. I ſhall not deny but I am very little acquainted with what paſſes; but if I have no greater reaſon to complain of the Maſter of Staires than the not knowing of the adjournment of the parliament till the 5th of April, we ſhall agree very well. I ſaw my lord Carmichell to-day, who told me he hoped my lord Lothian will have convinced your grace how much both of them were wronged by thoſe that told your grace they were againſt your being chancellor. I cannot write your grace any further account of things than I did by my laſt; for I do not hear there is any thing more reſolved as to our affairs: and I having already told the king of my going to Scotland, and that I waited for nothing but to know from him what I ſhould ſay to your grace upon this conjuncture, I know it is needleſs to be preſſing: for I am perſuaded, that till they are at more certainty how things will go, I ſhall get no anſwer; they ſay they are at ſuch uncertainties, that they change every day, and know not where to fix. I know nothing I can ſay to your grace more upon this head, only that moſt people are of the opinion, that you ſhould not be raſh of what you reſolve; and though things be come to that length, that you are at preſent not ſatisfied with, yet it is thought you ought rather to abſent yourſelf than to declare yet; and I hope you will do ſo, till I have the honour of ſeeing you.

Lord Baſil Hamilton to the duke his father, to the ſame purpoſe. In the duke of Hamilton's poſſeſſion.

Loo, 10th April, 1692.

SINCE my laſt I have ſpoke to E. Portland, who told me, that it was true that your grace had the

admiral's place given you. I told him that I had ſeen it in the Gazette, but that I heard nothing of it from your grace; ſo I did not know whether you would accept of it or not. He anſwered, that you would be very much in the wrong to refuſe it, for he believed it was only a place of honour, and had nothing to do with the affairs of ſtate; ſo that, whatever you do as for the reſt, you ought not to refuſe this; for this brought you under nobody; ſo that having no correſpondence with the other difficulties, he hoped your grace would not refuſe it. He ſpoke more favourably this time concerning you, than I have found him.

In my laſt I wrote to your grace, that Mr. Carſtairs was not here, but that evening I found I was miſtaken, for I ſaw him at night; but, not ſeeing him before, made me believe he was not here. I told him what your grace had wrote to me, and deſired he would repreſent things to my lord Portland. He told me he had not had an opportunity of ſpeaking to my lord yet, but he would endeavour to do it before the poſt goes, and give me an account what paſſes, which if he does, I ſhall write it to your grace. I find he is much for your grace's not quitting the government for all that is done, and he ſays he is very ſure that things will come to your hand; but he having ſpoke to you himſelf, I need not ſay any thing more of it; nor do I know really how to ſay any thing to your grace about it, for I am as ſenſible as is poſſible of the hard meaſures you meet with; but I am ſure that all that your enemies deſire is, that you ſhould retire—that they may ſay, you do it to countenance the diſcontented party of the country, and that you have always been an oppoſer to all kings, and will ever be ſo. I do not ſay this, that it has been ſaid from any body to me, nor have I heard any thing of that nature; only I am afraid that, if you do retire, it will be the conſtruction your enemies will put upon it.

Lord

Lord Baſil Hamilton to the duke.—The duke refuſes the place of lord admiral of Scotland. In the duke of Hamilton's poſſeſſion.

Hague, 7th of May, 1692.

THE talk of King James coming over, with all the Iriſh and ſome French, makes a great noiſe. But I do not hear yet, that the king will change thoſe meaſures he has already taken. I ſee a letter of your grace's to-day, to the ſecretary here, with the abſolute refuſal of the being admiral of Scotland; the ſecretary has not ſeen the king yet, ſo I know not how it is taken here: but ſo ſoon as I do, I ſhall write to your grace.

Lord Baſil Hamilton to the duke his father.——Has defended the duke againſt ſuſpicions. In the duke of Hamilton's poſſeſſion.

SInce my laſt from Breda, I have ſeen Mr. Carſtears, who told me he would write to your grace; he ſays that your enemies begin already to ſay, that the reaſon why you are ſo abſtract from buſineſs, was that you would not meddle till you ſee the effect of this campaign. I told him, that could but ſhow malice, and not do you hurt with any reaſonable body, for you had dipped your fingers too deep in the pye, to begin to juggle now; beſides, it is not your humour.

Bruſſels, 19 May, 1692.

Mr. Fletcher of Salton's ſpirited letter to the duke of Hamilton.—Preſſes him to forget his own injuries, and defend his country. In the duke of Hamilton's poſſeſſion.

Edinburgh, 29th of April, 1692.

May it pleaſe your grace,

I KNOW you will be ſurpriſed to receive a letter from me; but my writing to you in ſuch an exigence, ſhews the high eſteem I muſt have of you; and

of the true love you bear your religion and country. If, laying aſide all other conſiderations, you do not come in preſently, and aſſiſt in council, all things will go into confuſion, and your preſence there will eaſily retrieve all. The caſtle has been very near ſurpriſed, and an advertiſement which ſecretary Johnſton had from France, and wrote hither, has ſaved it. When things are any ways compoſed, you may return to your former meaſures, for I do approve of them. I do adviſe your grace to the moſt honourable thing you can do; and without which your country muſt periſh.

Your grace's moſt humble ſervant,
(Signed) A. FLETCHER.

In the duke of Hamilton's poſſeſſion.

Secretary Stair to the duke of Hamilton.—Their animoſities.—Vindication of the treaty with the Highlanders.

St. Gerard, Aug. $\frac{27}{17}$, 1691.

May it pleaſe your grace,

I HAD the honour to receive a letter from your grace laſt poſt. It's needleſs to fall again into a ſubject which is out of the field; but I muſt ſay, where there is little confidence, miſtakes eaſily ariſe: and really I believe I had been as little haſty as your grace, though I cannot but obſerve, what hints were at me. But they have not hit, and I am not haunted with reſentment.

I have ſent your grace a copy of the conceſſions to the Highlanders; the application of the money is by buying in from my lord Argyll, and from Mackintoſh, thoſe lands and ſuperiorities, which have been the occaſion of trouble in the Highlands theſe many years. When your grace does conſider, that the expence comes not from us, that the apprehenſions of danger were great when it was begun, and that the king could not reſtle, with the eaſe we may have of two or three regiments which we cannot pay, and that the French

may

may be the more earneſt to get a footing in Britain, that they are likely to loſe Ireland, I hope your grace will find the ſettlement not ſo ill, nor ſo ill turned, as to be either diſhonourable to the king, or uſeleſs to the country, at this juncture. I wiſh the affairs of our kirk were as well ſettled, and then I ſhall hope for ſome quiet to our poor country.

In King William's box there are letters from lord Tarbet to the king, concerning the execution intended againſt the Highlanders if they ſhould not take the oaths. In one of them to the king, without a date, but appearing to be written in the year 1691, Lord Tarbet tells him that the laſt Highland campaign had coſt 150,000 *l*; that it would not be the work of two or three years to force the Highlanders to peace; and gives an account of the meaſures taken to treat with them. In another, alſo without date, but written about the ſame time, he gives a farther account of negociations with the Highlanders, and adds, "Colonel Hill informed my lord commiſſioner and me frequently of theſe proceedings; but the major general was then near, to be in readineſs for a Highland expedition, and he was not for capitulation, ſince he doubted not to reduce them by force; and the earl of Argyll was againſt ſuch condeſcenſions as would prejudge or leſſen his expectations; and ſeveral of Your Majeſty's counſellors did think it diſhonour to treat with them; and all theſe concurred to think it better to root them out by war, than to give them any favour."

In the poſſeſſion of the earl of Breadalbane.

Secretary Stair to lord Breadalbane.—Truſts in his conduct of the treaty with the Highlanders.

From the camp at Approbiax, June $\frac{28}{18}$, 1691.

My lord,

I CAN ſay nothing to you, all things are as you wiſh, but I do long to hear from you. Do not trouble yourſelf with any diſcouragements you may ſee deſigned againſt you. By the king's letter to the council you will ſee he hath ſtopt all hoſtilities againſt the Highlanders, till he may hear from you, and that your time be elapſed without coming to ſome iſſue, which I do not apprehend; for there will come nothing to them. D. Berwick is here, and if it will not do, I am ſure you will return quickly to give the account of the negotiation, to teſtify you have done your part, both for their Majeſties intereſt, and for your friends: but if they will be mad, before Lammas they will repent it; for the army will be allowed to go into the Highlands, which ſome thirſt ſo much for, and the frigates will attack them: but I have ſo much confidence of your conduct and capacity, to let them ſee the ground they ſtand on, that I think theſe ſuppoſitions are vain. I have ſent you your inſtructions. My dear lord, Adieu.

In the poſſeſſion of lord Breadalbane.

Secretary Stair to the earl of Breadalbane.—Preſſes him to conclude the treaty.——Suſpicions of lord Argyll's loyalty.

Nancour, Aug. 24, O. S. 1691.

My lord,

I HOPE this comes to your hands well at London, where I doubt not my lady will ſoon diſpatch you, that your journey in return do not fall in the winter. I came that night I ſaw you laſt, to this place, and here underſtood you had paſſed this way. I did regret I had not ſo much more of your company. The more I do

I do consider our affairs, I think it is the more necessary that your lordship do with all diligence post from thence, and that you write to the clans to meet you at Edinburgh, to save your trouble of going further: they have been for some time excluded from that place, so they are fain, and will be fond to come there. The sooner the king shall know of their anticipating the time for taking the indemnity, and oath of allegiance, it's the better for his resolutions, both in relation to the settling the civil government, and the ordering of the army. I join my entreaties with my lady's to you, to haste back as soon as you can, by the first of October. If you can see and fix Argyll, it would magnify you, though that cannot be required at your hands. I am sure you are able to make him sensible, considering what the king knows, that his part of the terms are very kind and advantageous; and it must make clear to the world his engagements elsewhere, if he does obstruct his own conveniency, and the king's service in this settlement. I know it will need no more to satisfy all your people, but to see them; therefore, my dear lord, let it be soon, and short, that we may have you again. Farewell.

Secretary Stair to lord Breadalbane, on his being accused of double-dealing in the treaty. In lord Breadbane's possession.

My lord, Loo, Sept. $\frac{18}{8}$, 1691.

I HAVE been vaguing these three last posts. I got yours from London, as soon as the charge given in against you, which is still with the secretary of England's baggage. So the king hath not seen the principal letter, but we have, and know the contents. No body believes your lordship capable of doing either a thing so base, or that you could believe there could be any secret in your treaties, where there were so many ill eyes upon your proceedings; but the truth will always hold fast. The king is not soon shaken, and this attempt

tempt againſt you is ſo plain, that it will recommend and faſten you more in his favour, when the iſſue clears the ſincerity of your part. And I hope it's not in any body's power to deprive you of the ſucceſs to conclude that affair in the terms the king hath approven. But it will require more pains and diſpatch. To return, the king will be over the beginning of October, and I hope to ſee you before it end; and I have heard there are endeavours uſing to make the Highlanders either own theſe baſe terms, as promiſed by your lordſhip; or elſe to declare their peaceableneſs did not proceed on your account, or for your negotiation, but becauſe of the endeavours of others. I am not ready to believe theſe projects will have great effect. Let not any thing diſcourage you, but believe all theſe devices will tend to magnify your ſervice, when you finiſh your undertaking. It's repreſented that the Highlanders do not intend to take the allegiance, but that they come down to the low-lands to debauch people, and make parties, during the interval till the 1ſt of January, which is too long. I ſee what advantage will be made of this. But theſe who are not ready, or preſently willing to take the oath, ſhould keep at home in their own country, till they be going to take the oath: for it were not fair, nor proper, that any man who hath been in rebellion, ſhould go to Edinburgh, and appear there, and do what he pleaſes, till the firſt of January: and then to be uncertaine whether he will take the oath or not. The beſt cure of all theſe matters is, that the chieftains do take it as quickly as can be, which will take off the tricks, or ſuſpicions againſt the reſt. I doubt not it will be minded that my lord Argyll ſhould not meddle with the garriſons of Mull, or that men ſhould be deſired to render upon the proſpect of being priſoners, in caſe they take not the oaths: They ſhould once be free, and have the time allowed to deliberate; but in that ſpace ſhould not be uſed to inſult the government, or to act againſt it in the mean time. I think

think you have brought this matter ſo good a length, that I doubt not the reſt, and then I believe the king will forgive bygone arrears of ceſs to theſe, ſo ſoon as he hears they are coming in frankly.

My dear lord, adieu.

I wrote to my lord Atholl as I ſaid.

Secretary Stair to lord Breadalbane.——Difficulty in the treaty. In the poſſeſſion of lord Breadalbane.

My lord, Deeren, Sept. $\frac{3}{13}$, 1691.

I HAD your's from London, ſignifying that you had not been then diſpatched, for which I am very uneaſy. I ſpoke immediately to the king, that without the money the Highlanders would never do; and there have been ſo many difficulties in the matter, that a reſolution to do, eſpecially in money-matters, would not ſatisfy. The king ſaid they were not preſently to receive it, which is true, but that he had ordered it to be delivered out of his treaſury, ſo as they need not fear, in the leaſt, performance; beſides, the paper being ſigned by his majeſty's hand, for ſuch ſums ſo to be employed, or the equivalent. There never was any body that could ſay the king had failed in his poſitive promiſes, and therefore I hope theſe people will not ſuffer themſelves to be abuſed; nor will your lordſhip conſider the retardments put in your way to hinder you to effectuate ſo good ſervice both to your ſovereign and country: they ſee all the reſt that they fear depends very much upon the ſucceſs of this, and I know I need not prompt your lordſhip to finiſh what upon many conſiderations is ſo neceſſary. There wants no endeavours to render you ſuſpicious to the king, but he aſked what proof there was for the information? and bid me tell you to go on in your buſineſs; the beſt evidence of ſincerity, was the bringing that matter quickly to a concluſion. We now would fain fancy the time is too long, and that it will be abuſed in the interim by theſe who

who intend not to take the allegiance, but to come down to debauch the low countries, and insult the government. I wrote to you in my last, that they should keep at home till they are clear to take the benefit of the indemnity, in the terms proposed. I did expect the king's answer to the council might have determined that matter so, but there is yet no answer, nor will be this post; in which time I hope your lordship shall not only keep them from giving any offence, but bring them to take the allegiance, which they ought to do very chearfully; for their lives and fortunes they have from their majesties. It will be about the tenth of October before the king be at London. By that time some will be wearied, and I hope others will be there about that time. I need not tell you how much it concerns you, both in your honour and interest, to get evidence you both have dealt sincerely, and are able, in despite of opposition, to conclude the Highland affair.

My dear lord, adieu.

In the possession of lord Breadalbane.

Secretary Stair to lord Breadalbane.—Treaty breaking off.

My lord, London, Nov. 24, 1691.

NOT hearing from you so long after your conference the 10th past, I conclude things have not answered your expectation. Now I do believe our public matters shall be settled before we hear any thing from you of the success of your negotiation; perhaps they will be pretty right. I fancy more endeavours are tried to retard you, as if all did depend on your success. No, my lord, you serve a prince not so hard as to consider nothing but success, nor not so little penetrating as not to observe it was not your want of faithfulness, but of others who did serve him, that hath delayed the conclusion of that affair. I must say your cousin Lochiel hath not been so wise as I thought him, not to mention gratitude; for truly, to gratify your relation, I did comply to let his share be more than was reasonable; there

there was no pleas betwixt him and Argyle to be bought in, and I well know he, nor Keppoch, nor Appin cannot lie one night safe in winter, for the garrison of Fort William. I doubt not Glengarry's house will be a better mid-garrison betwixt Inverness and Inverlochy, than ever he will a good subject to this government. I am glad it hath not failed on the king's side, for all his success; but I shall advise your lordship to keep up the remissions, and let them stand as fast as they please (though in this I have no peremptory command from the king). But I am satisfied that clan deserves no favour, and that having used you so, and slighted the grace offered, they are an easy and a proper object of his majesty's severity and justice. This is only to advise you, that neither your own thanks, nor the public settlement, depends on them, and that you do not too far press or engage yourself: for I apprehend my next will be to sound the retreat, and leave these honest wise people to their own politics; for though nothing you have done will be retracted, conform to your orders, yet not one deserves to be added to these who could import no more, but their unwillingness, by their lingring. The fairest way to let this matter fall will be your returning to Edinburgh, or hither, except you do find your lordship fixed in a post in the government there. You will allow me to change with those circumstances, though never to you who I doubt not have done your part; but I wish you had written oftner. Since the ninth I had nothing from you.

My dear lord, farewell.

Though Lochiel were as he should have been, yet he must to the bargain dispone that moss that lies nearest to Fort William, for a place constantly to provide fewel to that garrison.

Secretary

In the poſſeſſion of lord Breadalbane.

Secretary Stair to Lord Breadalbane.—Preparations for execution.

My lord, London, Dec. 2, 1691.

YOUR's of the 16th paſt was very uneaſy; it's a little qualified by that of the 19th.—I know not by what I was moved to write to you eight days ago, as if I had known what theſe letters brought me; and though what I wrote then was only to haſten matters, the lingering being of ill conſequence, yet I never thought there was danger in the miſcarrying of it. I confeſs I was deſirous of your return, upon the finiſhing of your negociation; but without that, or the having prevailed with one man, is what I never wiſh to ſee. I am convinced it is neither your fault, nor can prejudice ariſe to their majeſties ſervice by the change of meaſures, but only ruin to the Highlanders; but yet at the preſent ſettlement it would do yourſelf and your friends no advantage. That perſon you ſuſpect to have blown up the M'Leans, hath great acceſs, and wants nothing but ſuch an occaſion to introduce him, and to make him in a manner neceſſary to do what you cannot. I doubt not all will come right; but though it is neceſſary you do ſeem to come hither, that they may rue, yet you had not beſt, in my opinion, leave it; and here you cannot be before our ſettlement, as I apprehend, is in readineſs. I ſhall not repeat my thoughts of your doited couſin; I perceive half ſenſe will play a double game, but it requires ſolidity to embrace an opportunity, which to him will be loſt for ever; and the garriſon of Inverlochy is little worth, if he can either ſleep in his own bounds, or if he ever be maſter there. I repent nothing of the plan; but what account can be given why Argyle ſhould be forced to part with Ardnamurchan, to which Lochiel hath no more pretence than I? You cannot believe with what indifferency the king heard this matter,

ter, which did alarm and surprise us all, and confirmed the bold assertions of others against you. I hope you will be able to document sir Ewen's and Mr. John M'Lean's commissions, which are necessary for your vindication. Lieut. col. Hamilton, deputy governor of Inverlochy, is a discreet man, you may make use of him. I should be glad to find, before you get any positive order, that your business is done, for shortly we will conclude a resolution for the winter campaign. I do not fail to take notice of the frankness of your offer to assist. I think the clan Donell must be rooted out, and Lochiel. Leave the M'Leans to Argyll. But before this, Leven and Argyll's regiment, with two more, would have been gone to Flanders. Now all stops, and no more money from England to entertain them. God knows whether the 12,000*l.* sterling had been better employed to settle the Highlands, or to ravage them; but since we will make them desperate, I think we should root them out before they can get that help they depend upon. Their doing, after they get K. J. allowance, is worse than their obstinacy; for those who lay down arms at his command, will take them up by his warrant. Be assured no papist will be exempted from this oath of allegiance; and in Ireland they must take it, by act of parliament now made, since the supremacy is out of it. You may assure yourself, in our settlement of government, you are not forgot by your friends, though I must tell you some are again emboldened, who had given over to object against your being assumed.

My dear lord, adieu.

Secretary Stair to lord Breadalbane.—Desires his mauling *scheme.*

My lord, London, Dec. 3, 1691.

THE last post brought letters from Glengarry, or from his lady, and Rorry upon a message. Glengarry had sent to him to Edinburgh. This hath furnished

niſhed him with opportunity to diſcourſe the king on all theſe matters. He tells me he hath vindicated you; only the ſhare that the M'Donalds get is too little, and unequal to your good couſins, (really that's true) and he would have the money given to Glengarry, and leave Argyll and him to deal for the plea. He thought his ſhare had only been 1000 *l.* ſterling. I have ſatiſfied the king in theſe points, that his ſhare is 1500 *l.* ſterling, and that he nor none of them can get the money, if Argyll conſent not; for that deſtroys all that is good in the ſettlement, which is, to take away grounds of hereditary feuds: to be brief, I'll aſſure you that I ſhall never conſent any body's meddling ſhall be ſo much regarded, as to get any of your terms altered. By the next I expect to hear either theſe people are come to your hand, or elſe your ſcheme for mauling them; for it will not delay. On the next week the officers will be diſpatched from this, with inſtructions to garriſon Invergarry, and Buchan's regiment will join Leven's, which will be force enough; they will have petards and ſome cannon. I am not changed as to the expediency of doing things by the eaſieſt means, and at leiſure, but the madneſs of theſe people, and their ungratefulneſs to you, makes me plainly ſee there is no reckoning on them; but *delenda eſt Carthago.* Yet who have accepted, and do take the oaths, will be ſafe, but deſerve no kindneſs: and even in that caſe, there muſt be hoſtages of their neareſt relations, for there is no regarding men's words whom their intereſt cannot oblige. Menzies, Glengarry, and all of them, have written letters, and take pains to make it believed, that all you did was for the intereſt of K. James. Therefore look on, and you ſhall be ſatisfied of your revenge. Adieu.

Lord

Lord Baſil Hamilton to the duke.——Execution is to proceed. In the duke of Hamilton's poſſeſſion.

London, 9th Jan. 1692.

I KNOW not if the news of the Highlanders taking the oaths will put a ſtop to the marching of the troops that were deſigned for that purpoſe; but I believe it will not; but that the orders for their campaign will ſtill go on.

Propoſals concerning the Highlanders, by lord Breadalbane. In lord Breadalbane's poſſeſſion.

THE laſt opinion given to Your Majeſty, concerning the ſettling of the Highlanders, having had good ſucceſs, by their ſubmitting to your government, laying down arms, and taking the oath of allegiance; it remains now to propoſe to Your Majeſty, how to make them uſeful and ſerviceable to you, and to take up arms for Your Majeſty in caſe of any inſurrection at home, or invaſion from abroad, or that Your Majeſty think it fit to uſe ſome of them in foreign parts.

1ſt, The law obliges the nation to riſe in arms when required, and to continue in arms forty days.

2d, That Your Majeſty, by virtue of this law, ordain all the Highland landlords and chieftains to have ſuch a proportion of men ready, as their eſtates and intereſt may eaſily raiſe and provide, without making the levy too heavy for them, which levy may be, according to the calculation made thereof, four thouſand good and effective men.

3d, That theſe men, both officers and ſoldiers, be enrolled, and thereby ready to be called for when required. And to that end,

4th, That Your Majeſty give commiſſion to ſome principal man in the Highlands, to have the charge of raiſing, enrolling, and bringing them to the field, and placing of fit inferior officers over them, according to the number that every tribe ſends out.

5th, That this principal perſon have the pay of a general officer, but that only when he is employed, to defray his expence; who is to receive his orders from Your Majeſty, or your government, or from the commander in chief of your ſtanding forces in that kingdom.

6th, That Lochzeal, in reſpect of his experience and ſkill, and his intereſt in the other clans beſides his own, may have the next command over this militia, and have the pay of a colonel while he is employed, in regard he is ambitious to ſerve Your Majeſty, and is a proteſtant.

7th, That there be forty captains ſet over the four thouſand, of ſuch as every tribe may have one of their own to command them, and theſe to have a gratuity at their return home, after they are diſmiſſed, as they behave themſelves, and do keep their men in good diſcipline; and this gratuity to be beſtowed by the advice of Your Majeſty's government, the commander in chief of your forces, and of the perſon who has the principal command of the Highlanders. That as ſoon as Your Majeſty ſettles your government of that kingdom theſe two commiſſions be given, that they may immediately thereafter go about the enrolling of the men, according to the proportions to be charged by proclamation on every landlord and chieftain, to be ready when called for.

8th, As this eſtabliſhment will encourage the Highlanders to be faithful, and ſerve Your Majeſty, being commanded by perſons of themſelves, and in whom Your Majeſty may confide; ſo it will extremely diſcourage ſuch as deſign to give diſturbance to the peace of that kingdom, and to embarraſs your government there, when they find that Your Majeſty has engaged a formidable force of Highlanders ready to fall on them, contrary to their expectation, and endeavours of keeping them from coming in.

9th, Your

9th, Your Majesty has these forces without any charge, except for a few officers, and that only when employed, and that but for a short time, which will discuss any commotion can be in that nation; and it may be asserted, that there cannot be better militia men than they are.

10th, Your Majesty has not a fund in that kingdom, nor can have, to maintain above three thousand standing forces, which are so few, that it is a great encouragement for all ill designs, especially in Your Majesty's absence. But this addition of four thousand Highlanders will alter the case exceedingly, will strengthen your government, encourage your standing forces, and disappoint your enemies: for they may be so ordered as to be ready to march on few days advertisement.

11th, It will be fit there be a major or two in constant pay, for attending and looking after these forces, and to serve as adjutants for raising, bringing them to the field, and to keep them from prejudicing the countries.

12th, That in pursuance of this diligence, and that the discontented disaffected parties in that kingdom may see that Your Majesty will trust and employ the Highlanders, (if these force you to it) Your Majesty will be pleased to dispatch Lochziel home, contented, and obliged to Your Majesty's royal bounty: it is but a small sum he pretends, and Your Majesty will find it very well bestowed.

13th, In case Your Majesty, at that time, think it fit to employ a regiment of Highlanders abroad, they may be detached out of this body of men; and in that case, it is humbly offered to Your Majesty, that they be allowed to use their own apparel, and their own arms, and to be disciplined in their own fashion, and to be commanded by persons having their language, and who have interest with them.

List of chieftains to which the proposals relate.

	Men.
In lord Breadalbane's possession. The earl of Seafort,	200
The viscount of Tarbat,	50
The lord Lovitt,	150
The earl of Sutherland,	100
The lord Rhea,	50
The laird of Ballingoun	100
The laird of Fouls,	50
The laird of Straglaſſe,	20
The laird of Glenmoriſton,	30
The laird of M'Intoſh,	100
M'Pherſon of Clunie,	
The laird of Kilravock,	150
The laird of Grant,	200
The laird of Balmdaloch	20
The duke of Gordon,	300
The earl of Mar,	200
The marquis of Atholl,	300
The laird of Aſhintullie,	30
The laird of Weem,	50
The laird of Garntully,	50
The laird of Strowan,	20
The earl of Perth,	150
The earl of Murray,	100
The earl of Monteath,	100
The marquis of Montroſe,	150
The laird of Luſs,	50
The laird of Macfarlane,	30
The earl of Argyle,	500
The earl of Breadalbane	250
The laird of Calder,	100
The laird of M'Lane,	100
The laird of Locheal,	150
The captane of Clanronald,	100
Sir Donald M'Donald, of Fleat,	100

The

	Men.
The laird of M'Leod,	100
The laird of Glengary,	100
The laird of M'Finzone,	30
M'Donald of Keppoch,	50
The laird of Appine,	50
The tutor of Appine,	30
The laird of Lochbouy,	30

One of the Highland chieftains commiſſions to treat. In lord Breadalbane's poſſeſſion.

I Col. MacDonell of Keppoch doth hereby, in my own name, and in name of Ranald M'Donell of Inſh Ronald, M'Donell of Froets, Donald M'Donald Coldonarge, Æneas M'Donell of Bohurtmy, Æneas M'Donell of Killbrihonatt, Æneas M'Donell of Tulloch, Alexander M'Donell of Inveroy, Neil Kennedy of Kearu: than, Alex. M'Donell of Tirnoderiſh, and the reſt of my kinſmen and friends, earneſtly deſire and requeſt, impower and commiſſion, at the Right Hon. John earl of Breadalbane, to treat and conclude with the preſent government, for procuring to me and my foreſaid friends ſuch lending and conceſſions as he may obtain from them; hereby promiſing, upon my oath, in my own name, and for them, that I and they ſhall ſtand and adhere to ſuch terms as his lordſhip will procure for me and them. In witneſs whereof I have written and ſealt this preſents, the twenty-fourth of June, 1691.

COLL. MACDONALD.

One of the Highland chieftains obligations to keep peace. In lord Breadalbane's poſſeſſion.

I Coll. Mack Donell of Keppoch doth for myſelf, and on behalf of Ronald Macknonald of Inſh, Ronald M'donald of Fenſett, Alexander M'Donell of Inveroy, Donald M'Donell of Cleonaige, Æneas

M'Donell of Bohuntine, Æneas M'Donell of Killiehonat, Æneas M'Donell of Tullioch, Neil Kennedie of Leonurhane-more, Alex. Kennedie of Leoruthan-beig, Alex. Mac Donell of Firnadrofs, Æneas Mac Donell of Auchnacoichine, and all the reft of my kinfmen, friends, and followers, engage, on my faith and word, that I and they fhall fubmit to the prefent government, live peaceably, and commit no acts of hoftility nor depredations, nor join with any forces from abroad, or within the country, to commit any fuch acts until the firft day of September next, providing that fuch propofals and terms as fhall be made by the earl of Breadalbine to the prefent government be granted to me and thofe abovementioned, againft the forefaid day: providing alfo, that no act of hoftility or depredations be committed againft me, or any of my faid friends or kinfmen, before the abovefaid firft day of September next. To thefe conditions I do hereby oblige myfelf to ftand and adhere: In witnefs whereof I have written and fubfcribed thefe prefents, the twenty-fourth of June javry, and ninety-one years.

COLL. MACKDONALD.

[There is a tradition, whether true or not I know not, that when lord Nottingham afterwards wrote to lord Breadalbane to account for the 12,000*l.* which had been given him to be divided among the Highlanders, he anfwered the letter in thefe words: *My lord, the Highlands are quiet: the money is fpent: and this is the beft way of accounting between friends.*]

BOOK

BOOK VII.

Lord Marlborough to King William.——Unhappy about an accuſation made againſt him by ſir John Guiſe. In King William's box.

SIR,

THIS evening an officer is come to let me know, that the five regiments from Flanders are in the river, ſo that as ſoon as the treaſury will give money for the regiment of guards, I ſhall take care to ſend them according to Your Majeſty's order. You will pardon me, Sir, that I take the liberty in ſaying that I have been extremely fretted at a thing that has been told me ſince you went, which is, that ſir John Guiſe ſhould tell you, that he knew by merchants, when I came out of Holland, that I left 30,000 *l.* there, and that Your Majeſty ſhould anſwer him, that when you came back you would inquire into it: I do aſſure you, that there is not any thing true of what ſir John Guiſe has told you, and if Your Majeſty find that I had one ſhilling there before the 6500 guineas that I ſent over by my lord Portland, and afterwards 4700 *l.* to Shulenburg, I then beg you to believe me the laſt of men: but I have troubled Your Majeſty too much on this ſubject, but beg leave to aſſure you, that I ſhall ever endeavour to ſerve you faithfully, ſo that I no way doubt of deſerving Your Majeſty's favour and protection. I am,

SIR,
Your Majeſty's dutiful ſubject and ſervant,

June 17th, 1690. MARLEBOROUGH.

In King William's box.

Lord Marlborough to King William.—Complains of lord Caermarthen.

SIR,

I Here ſend your Majeſty a copy of what we have done concerning the recruits; I muſt, at the ſame time, take leave to tell your Majeſty, that I am tired out of my life with the unreaſonable way of proceeding of lord Preſident, for he is very ignorant what is fit for an officer, both as to recruits, and every thing elſe as to a ſoldier; ſo that, when I have given ſuch as I think neceſſary orders, he does what he thinks fit, and enters into the buſineſs of tents, arms, and the offe reckonings, which were all ſettled before your Majeſty left England, ſo that at this rate buſineſs is never done; but I think all this proceeds from, I hope, the unreaſonable prejudice he has taken againſt me, which makes me incapable of doing you that ſervice which I do with all my heart, and ſhould wiſh to do, for I do with much truth wiſh both your perſon and government to proſper; I hope it will not be long before your Majeſty will he here, after which I ſhall beg never to be in England when you are not. The wind is now weſterly, which will carry the men out of Ireland into Flanders, where I ſhould be glad you would now permit me to ſend my equipage, being deſirous to be there myſelf a month or ſix weeks before the campaign begins. I am, with all imaginable reſpect,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's dutiful ſubject, and ſervant,

Whitehall,
Feb. 17th, 1691. MARLEBOROUGH.

Part

Part of a letter from lord Sydney to King William. —— *Suſpicions of lord Godolphin.* In King William's box.

March 6, 1690-1.

I MUST now go to another buſineſs, and tell your Majeſty that my lord Godolphin's quitting your ſervice is now no ſecret, for my lord Halifax told it me the other day, therefore your Majeſty muſt think of a new model for that office; I have prepared one for you, which you may receive or reject, as you think good; what my lord Godolphin does in the treaſury, I cannot tell, but I ſee his proceedings in other places are not with that zeal for your ſervice, as might be expected from him; he ſcarce ever comes to counſel, and never to the committees upon the taking of ſeveral ill-affected perſons, and at the examination of them he never was preſent; what the reaſon of it is I cannot tell.

Lord Marlborough to King William. —— *About lord Godolphin's reſignation.* In King William's box.

Jan. 27th, 1690-1.

I DO let no day paſs without ſpeaking to lord Godolphin about what you commanded; nor will I be rebuted in it, although I do not find that I prevail much on him, any otherways than that I find it makes him melancholy: That which I urge moſt to him is your perſonal kindneſs to him, and I find that has weight with him, ſo that I beg you will take all opportunities of writing kindly to him, and that before your return you will in a kind letter tell him, that you have ſo much perſonal kindneſs for him, that you deſerve better, than that he ſhould abandon you, at this time, when you have moſt need of his ſervice. I am with reſpect, SIR,

Your Majeſty's dutiful ſubject, and ſervant,

MARLEBOROUGH.

Part

In King William's box.

Part of lord Sydney's letter to King William.——On the ſame ſubject.—Lord Godolphin is to reſign on his wife's account.

Feb. 3, 1690-1.

THE cabinet counſell I believe the queen tells your Majeſty is very thin, and at the committee for Iriſh affairs there is no body but my lord Preſident, lord Pembroke, and myſelf; ſometimes ſir Harry Goodericke: what the reaſon of it is, I will not go about to determine. Since I had the honour to write to your Majeſty, I have had ſome diſcourſe with my lord Godolphin, and particularly about his own affairs. I find him much reſolved to do, what he ſaid he would to your Majeſty; he lays it moſt upon his wife, and ſaith it will not be convenient for a man of buſineſs that is not very young, to bring a wife near the court: upon the whole matter I ſee plainly he will not ſtay long in your ſervice, and your Majeſty muſt take your meaſures accordingly, and conſider who is fitteſt to ſerve you in that ſtation.

In King William's box.

Lord Godolphin to King William.—On the ſame ſubject.

Feb. 13, 1690-1.

I AM humbly to acknowledge the honour of your Majeſty's letter of the 6th, and the great goodneſs you are pleaſed to expreſs in it as to my particular; as it is no ſurprize to me who have already received ſo many proofs of your Majeſty's kindneſs to me, ſo I hope you will be pleaſed favourably to conſider the impoſſibility I am under, with regard to my preſent circumſtance, at this time, to depart from the humble requeſt which I preſumed to make to your Majeſty before you went away, and that you will have ſo well conſidered into what hands to put the care of your buſineſs in the treaſury, that my abſence from that place ſhall rather

rather prove an advantage to your Majesty's service there, than bring any farther difficulties upon it. How long my natural temper and inclination will suffer me to remain in the retirement I propose to myself, I cannot be answerable for, till I have tried it; but this I know, that in all places and in all conditions, I shall still retain the same duty and gratitude for your Majesty, and the same sense of your favours to me, as if I were every moment under your own observation, and had the honour to continue always near your Majesty.

Lord Marlborough to King William.——On the same subject. In King William's box.

Feb. 13, 1691.

MY Lord Godolphin showed me your Majesty's letter to him, which was so full of kindness that I hope the more he thinks of it, the better it will be, although I must own to your Majesty that he has not as yet altered his resolution; but he writes to you at large on this subject, so that I shall give you no farther trouble, but assuring you that I will lose no occasion of letting him see the obligation he has, in return to your Majesty's kindness, to spend his life in your service, which I do with all my heart wish for, being, with all imaginable duty,

SIR,

Your Majesty's dutiful subject and servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

Lord Marlborough to King William.——On the same subject. In King William's box.

Feb. 24, 1691.

I AM sorry to tell your Majesty that lord Godolphin continues very obstinate, so that I have no hopes but your own prevailing when you speak with him. I am with respect, SIR,

Your Majesty's dutiful subject and servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

Lord

In King William's box.

Lord Godolphin to King William.——Is desirous to resign.—Complains of getting orders that he does not like.

March 13, 1690.

THE queen has been pleased to lay her commands upon us at the treasury, in two particulars, to neither of which I could ever have given my consent at this time, nor have set my hand to them, were it not for the consideration of my own particular circumstances, which do not leave me at liberty to be stubborn in any thing, though never so reasonable, for fear your Majesty might think I would take a pretext, from any occasion of that kind, to procure a freedom to myself, which I am much more desirous to owe to your Majesty's grace and favour only.

The two particulars are, 1st, My lord President's pension for twenty-one years upon the post-office, certainly, to say no more, is very unseasonable at this time, and perhaps more unseasonable for him than for any body else; but for that, there is a French proverb, *chacuns scait ses affaires, ou les doit scavoir.*

The other particular is the finding of 16,000*l.* towards my lord Bathe's arrears, which perhaps might also have been as well forborn, till the reign of the commissioners of accounts had been expired; the powers of their commission are very large by the act of parliament, and I do not find but that they are willing to carry them to the utmost extent.

In King William's box.

Part of a letter from lord Godolphin to king William.—On the same subject.

Tunbridge, Aug. 10, 1691.

YOUR Majesty will forgive me, if upon this occasion I humbly observe to you, that you may see the business in the treasury can be as readily, and as carefully, dispatched in my absence, as when I am there;

there; and therefore I hope Your Majesty will be the less surprized at your return, if you find me persist in my humble request, that you would then be pleased to dispense with my further service there, especially since I can never hope by these waters, or by any thing else, to be so freed from the distemper that troubles me, as that the attendance upon business must not always increase it, and consequently be extreamly uneasy to me.

Part of a letter from lord Sidney to king William. —— In King William's box.
Suspicions of lord Godolphin.

July 12, 1692.

I HAVE been with the lords of the treasury, and told them the necessity of having some money for Ireland; they received me very civilly, but as soon as I was gone, they never thought more of it, and I see plainly some of the treasury don't care how any thing goes. My lord Godolphin is angry upon my lord Marlborough's account, Mr. Hampden upon his nephew's, sir Edward Seymour is out of town, sir St. Fox yields to my lord Godolphin in every thing, and Mr. Mountague saith nothing: I have troubled Your Majesty enough in money matters, and have little to add of any importance. Every body here is taking their pleasure as much as they can, but I must needs say that I believe the club (Your Majesty knows who I mean) are framing some designs that are not for your service; whether my lord Godolphin be in it or no, I cannot tell, but he hath put off his journey to Tunbridge, which he was fond of a month ago, and that gives me some suspicion. I hope their designs will come to nothing, and that your undertaking may be as prosperous as the humblest of your servants does passionately wish them.

Admiral

Admiral Ruſſel to king William.——Complains of ill uſage, and reproaches the king with his ſervices.

SIR,

SINCE the accidents of war may poſſibly put it out of my power of having the honour to ſee Your Majeſty again, I beg, with all imaginable ſubmiſſion and reſpect, you will give me leave to lay ſome things before you, which truly my baſhfulneſs would not permit me to do by word of mouth, when Your Majeſty was in England. I am ſenſible, Sir, with how little juſtice I can pretend to any ſhare in Your Majeſty's favour, having never in any kind deſerved the favours and honours you have pleaſed to ſhow me, nor am I conſcious to myſelf that I have ever been troubleſome, or importunate with Your Majeſty, for any thing that might better my own condition, unleſs it was for the grant of Rigate, which I as ſoon deſiſted in, as I found Your Majeſty backward in granting, concluding from that time Your Majeſty did not think me deſerving of a ſmall favour, when at the ſame time you was pleaſed to beſtow, on ſeveral others, great gifts. But that which afflicts me, ſir, is, that I ſhould have a brother who appeared one of the firſt in your intereſt and ſervice, who choſe rather to loſe all his appointments in the late king James's ſervice, which was very conſiderable, than not ſhow a zeal for his country's ſervice. It was not two years before that he gave a conſiderable ſum of money, by the then king's command, to be in the bed-chamber, with aſſurances he would ſpeedily make that up again to him. I durſt not have ſaid thus much in his behalf, had not Your Majeſty been pleaſed to tell me he had done his duty in Ireland, like a good officer and a brave man; but, ſir, a lieutenant colonel of horſe will not keep him; his expences in Ireland, to appear as he ought, have made him in his own fortune ſo much a worſe man, that he has been forced to quit the ſervice, and ſeek a ſubſiſtence by marrying an old

old widow, rather than ſpend all he has, and run the hazard of wanting afterwards. And really the ſeveral voyages at ſea Your Majeſty has commanded my ſervices in, have been ſo very expenſive to me, that notwithſtanding the place of three thouſand pounds a year I hold through your favour, and my own little fortune, have not been able to hinder me from contracting a conſiderable debt, which makes me uncapable of giving him that aſſiſtance my inclination leads me to. I have, ſir, a ſiſter who, during king James's reign, never failed of being paid her penſion, though I think not any of our family was ever very ſerviceable to him; but ſince Your Majeſty came to the crown, ſhe has never received any thing of it, though ſhe is informed ſeveral others have received from Your Majeſty that grace and favour, when they were only gifts of grace; her's, I am ſure, was for a valuable conſideration, a debt, to provide for her younger children, without which they can have no portion, this being the proviſion Mr. Cook their father made for them in his will. Theſe things have given me great mortification, that you are pleaſed to ſhow the world my family is leſs deſerving of your favours than others. It was my luck to be ſo favourably thought on, when the deſign was laid of Your Majeſty's coming over, by moſt people that were able to do ſervice or to obſtruct, I mean the military men both by ſea and land, that they believed me in what I ſaid, and depended on the credit I had with Your Majeſty to render them ſervice when God was pleaſed to ſettle you here; but ſuch has been my ill fortune, that I have not been able to recommend them to your favour, and moſt of them are in a worſe condition in point of income than in the late reign: it has convinced them how little regard Your Majeſty has for what I ſay in their behalf; and they ſee great places and rewards given to men, who gave you what oppoſition was in their power, while themſelves, who were the chief inſtruments of your meeting no ſtop while you marched

marched in England, reduced, if not to want, to much a greater neceſſity than they ever knew before. Theſe things I thought a duty incumbent upon me to lay before Your Majeſty, as alſo a juſtice to myſelf. I pray God bleſs Your Majeſty, and ſend you both by ſea and land good ſucceſs. Now I have troubled you with my afflictions, I ſhall be at eaſe, and whatever your pleaſure is, and whatever condition mine or my family is, Your Majeſty ſhall always find me, with all faith and duty,

Your Majeſty's moſt obedient
On board the Brit. ſubject, and ſervant,
May 10, 1691. RUSSELL.

In King William's Box.

Prince George of Denmark to king William, aſking a garter for lord Marlborough.

SIR,

I BEG leave once more to put you in mind of the promiſe you made me of a garter, which I hope you will now remember, there being two vacancies by the death of the duke of Newcaſtle; and I flatter myſelf that Your Majeſty will be ſo kind to beſtow it upon lord Marlborough, for my ſake, it being the only thing I have ever preſſed you for. I have nothing more to trouble you with but my wiſhes for your good ſucceſs in all your undertakings, and to aſſure you I ſhall ever be, with all the reſpect I ought, SIR,

Your Majeſty's
Tunbridge, Very affectionate brother, and ſervant,
Aug. 2, 1691. GEORGE.

The

The princeſs Ann to king William.—On the ſame ſubject. In King William's box.

SIR, Tunbridge, Aug. 2.

I HOPE you will pardon me for giving you this trouble, but I cannot help ſeconding the requeſt the prince has now made to you, to remember your promiſe of a garter for my lord Marlborough; you cannot certainly beſtow it upon any one that has been more ſerviceable to you in the late revolution, nor that has ventured their lives for you, as he has done ever ſince your coming to the crown: but if people will not think theſe merits enough, I cannot believe any body will be ſo unreaſonable to be diſſatisfied, when it is known you are pleaſed to give it him on the prince's account and mine. I am ſure I ſhall ever look upon it as a mark of your favour to us; I will not trouble you with any ceremony, becauſe I know you do not care for it.

ANNE.

Lord Baſil Hamilton to the duke of Hamilton.——Account of lord Marlborough's diſgrace. In the duke of Hamilton's poſſeſſion.

London, Jan. 21, 1692.

——I BELIEVE your grace will be ſurpriſed to hear that my lord Marlborough is out of all his employment, and the manner was very diſagreeable to him; for in his waiting week, which is this, after having put on the king's ſhirt in the morning, before twelve o'clock my lord Nottingham was ſent to him, to tell him that the king had no further need of his ſervice, and that he was to diſpoſe of all his employments, beſides forbidding him the court. Every body make their gueſſes what are his crimes. Some ſay that

he was endeavouring to breed diviſion in the army and to make himſelf the more neceſſary, beſides his endeavouring to make an ill correſpondence betwixt the princeſs and the court, but every body have their different thoughts; but this being late yeſterday, all the matter is not well known, but I believe a few days will bring all to light; ſo I ſhall not gueſs any more, but by my next give your grace the beſt account I can, and trouble your grace no more at preſent.

Part of lord Devonſhire's letter to king William, incloſing ſir John Fenwick's confeſſion.

Aug. 14, 1696.

THE incloſed is the paper given me by ſir John Fenwick on the 10th inſtant, written in his own hand, which he made me paſs my word ſhould be communicated to Your Majeſty only; and I believe Your Majeſty, when you read it, will not wonder he exacted that promiſe from me. I may truly ſay I ſhould have been very glad not to have been truſted with this ſecret, being very unwilling to believe what is there ſuggeſted of perſons, for whom I have a great reſpect, and which, as Your Majeſty may pleaſe to obſerve, is for the moſt part hearſay. All that I can ſay is, that whether Your Majeſty gives no credit at all to that part of this paper, or if you do, and in conſideration of the difference of times, would have no notice taken of it, ſome of them being in places of the higheſt truſt, and in all appearance very firm to your intereſt now, I humbly beg leave to aſſure Your Majeſty, that whatever part of this paper you would have kept ſecret ſhall remain ſo inviolably for me.

Sir

Sir John Fenwick's confeſſion.

In King William's box.

AFTER king James returned to France from Ireland, there was a ſelect number of his friends intruſted by him to manage his affairs here, who held a conſtant correſpondence with him, and his then ſecretary of ſtate, by his command, who uſed all methods poſſible to advance his intereſt, by engaging men in places of truſt in the government, fleet, and army, to his party, and by the accounts they gave from hence to move the French king to attempt his reſtoration, but with little ſucceſs; for till the year before the buſineſs of La Hogue, we knew only of my lord Godolphin (concerned in this government) who held a correſpondence with him from the time he went over, in whom king James, as he had often expreſſed in his letters, had an entire confidence. This winter my lord Middleton came to town, who had often been deſired to go over, believing it would be great ſervice to king James to have him there in his buſineſs; he alledged he could do little ſervice by going, unleſs he could engage and ſettle a correſpondence here before he went (which he was endeavouring and hoped to effect in a little time) with ſome men in this government, who had power in their hands, and were the only men capable to ſerve him; for his friends, being out of all employments, could make him little help: that he had entered into this affair with my lord Shrewſbury, and my lord Godolphin already, and there were ſome others who he believed he ſhould gain, and then he would go. Soon after captain Floyd, a groom of the bed-chamber to king James, was ſent over to him from my lord Marlborough and admiral Ruſſel, with an aſſurance from them of their intereſt in the fleet and army, which they did not doubt but to ſecure to him, if he would grant them his pardon for what was paſſed. At his

return, which was within a month, he acquainted me with ſome things king James had ordered him, and told me he had no difficulty in Mr. Ruſſel's affair, but the anſwer to my lord Marlborough was, that he was the greateſt of criminals, where he had the greateſt obligations; but if he did him extraordinary ſervice, he might hope for pardon: and a little after he did a conſiderable piece of ſervice, of which we had an account by one ſent on purpoſe by king James. Captain Floyd went again for France, and came to king James at La Hogue, with an account of the fleet, that we could not put out thirty ſail before the latter end of May, which he carried from Mr. Ruſſel. My lord Middleton, having ſettled this correſpondence, went over in March following. After he arrived, king James writ that, upon the aſſurance he had brought of this man being engaged in his ſervice, the French miniſters had eſpouſed his intereſt, and he hoped now the French king would lend him ſuch an aſſiſtance, as he ſhould ſee us in a ſhort time. My lord Middleton then preſſed king James to put out the declaration which they had drawn, and ſent over before he went, but was not approved of, it being a general pardon for all ſhould be done, till his landing, which expoſed his friends in the mean time to all ſeverities: he had ſent to us before to ſend him the heads for one we thought would be moſt acceptable to the people, in which there were ſome exceptions; but my lord Middleton prevailed for the other, pretending it was abſolutely neceſſary to make it a general pardon, for the ſecurity to the great men for their lives and fortunes; that it would draw many people to his party, and ſtrengthen their intereſt ſo much as they did not doubt but with a little help from France, to reſtore him ſoon. This declaration being publiſhed, and finding no performance of the great promiſes made for it, and that theſe men were engaged with a commonwealth's party, we adviſed to take care of truſting them too much, and that we doubted

doubted they had procured that declaration more for their own ſecurity, whenever he ſhould be reſtored, than any ſervice intended to him. Soon after this, my lord Shrewſbury, who had laid down his employment, at the time he firſt treated with my lord Middleton, came into his place again, which gave great apprehenſions that what had paſſed during this time would be betrayed to this government: we expreſſed our fears to K. James of it, but was anſwered, not to be diſſatisfied, for it was with his conſent he came in, that he was more capable of doing him ſervice, and took off all ſuſpicion of the correſpondence he held. A little after he came in, capt. Floyd was ſent hither to know what propoſals K. James might make to the French king, upon the aſſiſtance he might expect from them: the anſwer he had was, that they could do nothing till the king here was removed, which we underſtood to be his next going into Flanders, and thought it too ſlight a ground to move the French King to take any meaſures upon, for an attempt here: upon this, it was thought fit a conſiderable man ſhould go over, to lay the danger before him, of depending too much upon theſe men, whoſe party were enemies to all kings, leſt they might engage him in ſome undertaking which might prove his ruin. At his coming there, he deſired he might not ſee my lord Middleton, his buſineſs being of that nature as was not fit for him to hear, becauſe of his correſpondence with this party. King James told him he muſt ſee him, but he would give him an opportunity to diſcourſe his buſineſs in private. When he returned he acquainted us with this; and that he had fully diſcourſed him in all he was entruſted with; that he found he repoſed an entire confidence in them, ſaid they were the men could do him the beſt ſervice; that they were grown weary of this government; and the promiſes he had made them of honours and employments would bind them to him; that he would try what they would do, whenever the French king had

an opportunity to attempt his reſtoration; but deſired we would ſtill continue to advance in intereſt; and whenever he returned, he ſhould know how to value thoſe who had been always firm to him. From this time, great endeavours were uſed by this party to remove my lord Melfort, and we ſuppoſed this man's going was one great occaſion my lord Middleton not being acquainted with his buſineſs. After he was out, we were ordered to write to Mr. Carrill, who gave us little encouragement any thing would be ſoon done from thence, the French king's fleet being gone to the Streights, a famine in his country, and a falſe calculation made of his money, which had forced him to reduce his army; and ordered us to keep ourſelves quiet, for he muſt take his meaſures from this party for the time of his coming, on whom he muſt now depend. In ſpring, laſt year, one Croſby, a ſecretary under my lord Middleton, came over, who had been ſeveral times ſent to this party before, and had engaged ſome men in the aſſaſſination, who he aſked at his coming, if they had received the commiſſion for levying war, and ſeizing the King, which commiſſion they had deſired as a ſecurity, for themſelves, againſt King James, for this undertaking: they told him it was not come; he affirmed he ſaw it ſigned by King James before he came away; the thing all that time was prevented, nor did that commiſſion he mentioned ever come. Theſe men believing they were impoſed upon by Croſby, one of them reſolved to go over to know the truth; before he went he acquainted ſome of King James's friends with it, who deteſting ſo baſe an action, told him it would be a great ſervice to inform him what an infamy Croſby had thrown upon him, and that he ought to be ſeverely puniſhed, to prevent any ſuch thing for the future; he affirmed to King James, before Croſby, what he had ſaid; he reproved him, and told him he ſhould be no more employed in his ſervice. We had few letters after this, and thoſe ordered us, as before, to keep ourſelves quiet,

quiet, and not meddle in any thing, for meaſures were taken from other people. The laſt letter we had from King James himſelf, dated the 4th of February laſt, their ſtile, ſaid the Toulon fleet would ſail the 22d; but what they would do next he could not tell, which was all material in it: and the only hopes we had, ſomething would be done when it arrived. This attempt of the aſſaſſination then broke out, with which we were all ſurprized, and found ourſelves expoſed, without having the leaſt notice given us, ſo much as to take care of ourſelves, and which we believed was the meaſures taken to reſtore King James.

All this time endeavours were uſed by our friends to make an intereſt in the fleet, but found it to little purpoſe to engage private captains, for unleſs all their men were of their mind, which was impoſſible, they could do no ſervice. Captain Bottome and capt. Carter had both promiſed to go in that year as I remember my lord Torrington commanded; the firſt was killed in the attempt, and the officer who commanded the landmen on board him mutinied, ſeeing his deſign; the other broke his word, and fought that day, and was killed; the officers commanding in chief were therefore applied to, and that year the fleet was commanded by commiſſion. Sir Ralph De la Val and Killigrew were both engaged to ſerve King James: their opinion was aſked of Shovel; they ſaid he was not a man to be ſpoke to: the ſervice they promiſed was, to ſail the fleet out of the way, and let K. James paſs by, and declare for him when he was landed. I ſaw the account was ſent to King James of it, and his anſwer, wherein he returned his thanks, with promiſe of rewards and employments when he was reſtored.

As for the army, K. James depends upon my lord Marlborough's intereſt, who can do what he pleaſes with moſt of thoſe who ſerved in King James's time. At their going into Ireland, major-general Kirk and Maine, and ſome other inferior officers, had promiſed

to go in, but none performed: since that time there was no opportunity of making any application to them; those left here, lying in the country, and being changed every year; and the main army always abroad, where the only service they could do was to desert to the French, who would not receive them: it was therefore thought the best service to secure some of the garrisons here, of which there was four; Plymouth by my lord Bath; Berwick by Billingsly, the deputy-governor, who was generally upon the place; Sheerness by Crawford; and Langersort by the governor, if it be the same that was two years ago, whose name I have forgot. King James had an assurance of their service, that they would declare for him whenever he landed."

In King William's box there is the following further confession of sir John Fenwick.

"IN the year 1695, the beginning of that week the parliament was prorogued, I was walking in the Court of Requests, and there came to me sir Wm. Perkins, Mr. Porter, and Mr. Charnock, and asked me, If I did not know of an order come from King James, directed to those who had been general officers under him? I answered them I knew nothing of any order from him, and asked for what purpose it should be. They told me they had for some time expected a commission from King James to seize King William, and that Mr. Crosby was newly come over, and enquired of them if they had not received such a commission: they told him they had not: he said he wondered at it, for he saw it signed before he came away from St. Germains, and also an order to the general officers to be aiding and assisting to them.

I told

I told them, I believed what Croſby ſaid was falſe; that it was a ſcandal upon King James, and I was ſure he would never give any ſuch commiſſion or order for ſo baſe an action; that they could intend no leſs by ſeizing of the King than to murther him: upon which ſir Will. Perkins ſaid, the parliament would be prorogued on Friday next, and then the King would be gone for Flanders; that Saturday was the only day they had left to do it, and though the commiſſion was not come, they would not loſe that opportunity of attempting it, as he returned from Richmond that night, and ſwore he ſhould never go out of England alive.

Mr. Porter and Charnock ſaid they were reſolved of it, and though the commiſſion was not yet come, Croſby aſſured them it muſt be upon the road, for it was come away before him.

I uſed all arguments againſt it, and told them what injury they would do King James, and bring a certain ruin upon all his friends here; that if it was upon the road, as Croſby ſaid, it might be here by Saturday; and with much perſuaſion prevailed with them to dine with me that day at 12 of the clock, at the Fountain tavern, by the Temple gate, and got them to promiſe they would do nothing in it till they met me there that day.

We met accordingly, and I kept them there, diſcourſing upon the buſineſs, and ſhowing them the baſeneſs of the action and the impoſſibility of their ſucceeding, for none of King James his friends would back them in it, till it was too late for them to make any ſuch attempt. The King went for Flanders next morning early. This I atteſt for truth; for this reaſon I ſuppoſe they did not acquaint me with their laſt deſign.

J. FENWICKE."

Extract

In King William's Box.

Extract of the examinations and confeſſions of Peter Cook, ſon to ſir Miles Cook. He was condemned for the aſſaſſination-plot, but afterwards pardoned.

"HE gives an account of his having been in France ſeveral years ago; that he went on my lady Philips her buſineſs, but being there, was introduced to King James, and carried over the compliments of ſeveral perſons to the King; particularly from archbiſhop Sandcroft, lord Aileſbury, lord Montgomery, ſir John Fenwick, lord Clarendon, lord Litchfield, lord Huntingdon, lord Weymouth, ſir Edward Seymour, and others; he brought back meſſages to ſome of them, and was bid to ſee the marquis of Halifax, as being a man of honour, who received him very civilly; he brought over inſtructions from King James for the borrowing 6000l. they were directed to lord Aileſbury, lord Litchfield, and lord Brudenell, but they all excuſed it.

Mrs. Iron ſent him advice of the la Hogue buſineſs, which he communicated to lord Halifax, whereupon he found him uneaſy at his ſtaying longer with him, and told him he knew what he had to do.

He ſays at that time, there was a meeting at a tavern in Holbourn, where were the lord Brudenell, ſir Theophilus Oglethorpe, ſir Francis Windham, major George Mathews, Mr. Bruce, colonel Fountaine, one Holmes, and ſeveral others: they adviſed with one another what they ſhould do upon that invaſion; it was reſolved thoſe who had horſes ſhould rendezvous towards Canewood, and thoſe who had none ſhould get near the Tower, to join with ſir John Friend's party. There was a regiment joined with yellow, which they were told they might depend upon."

Lord

Lord Shrewſbury to King William.——Denies ſir John Fenwick's charge.——Owns intercourſe with lord Middleton.

In King William's box.

SIR, Whitehall, 8 Sept. 1696.

I WANT words to expreſs my ſurprize at the impudent and unaccountable accuſation of ſir Jo. Fenwick; I will, with all the ſincerity imaginable, give Your Majeſty an account of the only thing I can recollect, that ſhould give the leaſt pretence to ſuch an invention, and I am confident you will judge there are few men in the kingdom that have not ſo far tranſgreſſed the law.

After Your Majeſty was pleaſed to allow me to lay down my employment, it was more than a year before I once ſaw my lord Middleton, then he came and ſtaid in town a while, and returned to the country; but a little before the la Hogue buſineſs, he came up again, and upon that alarm being put in the Tower, when people were permitted to ſee him, I viſited him as often as I thought decent for the nearneſs of our alliance. Upon his enlargement, one night at ſupper, when he was pretty well in drink, he told me he intended to go beyond ſeas, and aſk'd if I would command him no ſervice; I then told him by the courſe he was taking, it would never be in his power to do himſelf, or his friends ſervice, and if the time ſhould come that he expected, I looked upon myſelf as an offender not to be forgiven, and therefore he ſhould never find me aſking it: in the condition he was then, he ſeemed ſhocked at my anſwer, and it being ſome months after, before he went, he never mentioned his own going, or any thing elſe to me, but left a meſſage with my aunt, that he thought it better to ſay nothing to me, but that I might depend upon his good offices upon any occaſion, and in the ſame manner he relied upon mine here, and had

had left me truſtee for the ſmall concerns he had in England; I only bowed, and told her, I ſhould always be ready to ſerve her, or him, or their children.

Your Majeſty now knows the extent of my crime, and if I do not flatter myſelf, it is no more than a king may forgive.

I am ſure when I conſider with what reaſon, juſtice and generoſity Your Majeſty has weighed this man's information, I have little cauſe to apprehend your ill opinion upon his malice. I wiſh it were as eaſy to anſwer for the reaſonableneſs of the genera ity of the world; When ſuch a baſe invention ſhall be made public, they may perhaps make me incapable of ſerving you, but if till now I had had neither intereſt nor inclination, the noble and frank manner with which Your Majeſty has uſed me upon this occaſion, ſhall ever be owned with all the gratitude in my power.

My lord Steward being at the bath, nothing was reſolved as to ſir Jo. Fenwick's tryal till his anſwer returns. I am with all imaginable ſubmiſſion,

Your Majeſty's moſt faithfull, dutifull,
and obedient ſubject, and ſervant,

SHREWSBURY.

In King William's box.

Lord Shrewſbury to King William.——Deſires leave to reſign the ſeals on account of the ſuſpicion he is under.

SIR, Eyford, 18 Oct. 1696.

I HAVE endeavoured to come to London to receive Your Majeſty's commands and directions, but by what happened yeſterday, I find at preſent is is impoſſible for me, and in all appearance will be ſo for a long time. I am very ſenſible Your Majeſty's affairs muſt neceſſarily receive great prejudice by the abſence of one in my poſt; and ſince it is very doubtful whether

ther I ſhall ever ſo well recover this accident, as to be capable of ſerving in the ſtation I have the honour to be in at preſent, and moſt certain it cannot be of a long time, I humbly and earneſtly beg Your Majeſty will allow me to return the ſeals into your hands: beſides my incapacity upon this illneſs, I am ſure, ſir, you muſt think it impoſſible for any man to ſerve in ſo nice an employment as your ſecretary, that has the misfortune to lye under the ſuſpicion though but of a few. I do not doubt but in my private capacity, I ſhall have occaſions to demonſtrate my fidelity and loyalty to Your Majeſty. In the mean time I repeat my requeſt, and beg leave to put you in mind of your promiſe at my receiving the ſeals, that I ſhould be at liberty to return them without Your Majeſty's dipleaſure, whenever I found the place uneaſy: now, ſir, that it happens to be impoſſible for me to execute it, and for your diſſervice that I ſhould, I hope you will accept this tender as deſigned with all duty to yourſelf, and affection to your government; for inclination, intereſt, gratitude, ſelf-preſervation, every thing that is valuable to an honeſt or a reaſonable man, oblige me to what I ſincerely am,

Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful ſervant,
and faithful and obedient ſubject,

SHREWSBURY.

Remark.] Lord Shrewſbury was prevailed upon to take back the ſeals. If the ſtory of his being obliged to do ſo by force be at all true, it may have been upon this occaſion.

In King William's box there is the following ſcheme by lord Rocheſter upon the conduct of parliament, and of the war, after the battle of la Hogue, with notes upon the margin in lord Caermarthen's hand writing: as follows.

IT is with all humility repreſented to the king, that if his Majeſty ſhould not return into England earlier this year than he did the laſt, there may the like inconveniencies happen, which did then, by not having taken ſufficient meaſures for the carrying on his buſineſs in the parliament; which as it did very much delay all the preparations for the laſt year, ſo it might perhaps to a great degree diſappoint thoſe that would be neceſſary for the next; if it be true what is generally apprehended, that the gentlemen are not like to meet in too good a humour; for the remedying of which it might be expedient, that though there be yet more than two months before it's probable the king would have the parliament ſit, there ſhould be no time loſt in taking all the conſideration that is poſſible, and making all ſuitable preparations for ſuch meaſures as are likelieſt to ſucceed when it does meet; for if it ſhould prove neceſſary to make any alterations, it would take a good deal of time both abroad and at home to adjuſt every thing upon new ſchemes *. It were perhaps too confident a thing for any one body, and poſſibly for a great many, to pretend to ſay the parliament will or will not doe any thing whatſoever that may be propoſed to them: but without doubt the being diſtruſtfull that they will not meet with too great ſatiſfaction in the tranſactions of this ſummer, is an undertaking they would not be diſpleaſed with any body that ſhould preſume to make it for them; the having given ſo very conſiderable ſums of money

So far all I have ſpoke to, agree with him.

* Sir J. Lowther ſays, no body can know one day what a houſe of Commons would do the next, in which all agreed with him, and that makes him think it unneceſſary to deliver any opinion now.

Lord Cornwallis ſays, had the parliament met when ſummoned this ſummer upon the victory at ſea, they would have given any thing,

money without receiving more eminent advantages by it, will probably pass for such a sort of miscarriage, as will abate at least their zeal in giving on as they have done, especially since it may be feared very little can be said that hath not been already urged to give them hopes of better success for the future: Besides, if every body were in the best disposition imaginable, it must be allowed there would be almost insuperable difficulties to struggle with *, and if three millions and a half were so hard to be compassed last year (which by the way was even too narrow a provision for the services then designed,) it must needs be harder this next year to find that summe, and the seven hundred thousand pounds that are fallen short of the poll bill, which possibly the parliament may think fit to make their first care, because they have obliged themselves to make that summe good, and which though it be for the expence of the expiring year, must be had out of the product of that which is beginning, and will be a dead weight upon any new tax that might be thought on, after the additional excise upon beer and ale and the land shall have their new load for the service of the next year; it is plain by experience that by no methods hitherto practised such sums can be raised in one year for the service of that year, and the methods of new excises †, if people were as willing to fall into them, as they are generally averse from them, could not possibly, in the first year at least, turn to an account proportionable to so great an expence: this then seems to be the prospect of that matter relating to money from the opinion of those that think the calmest upon this subject, that so great sums are not to be had again this year, if every body were disposed to do what they could, which it's to be doubted is not the case neither: if this be the true state of this point, it must be submitted to his Majesty's great

English people being puff'd up by success, which when forgot, as it soon is, their zeal will cool, so that consequently by this time it will be forgot quite, which will prove of ill consequence he thinks to your affairs.

* Lord Privy Seal Lord Nott. Lord Com. Trevor, Lord Cornwall, and Sir J. Lowther, thinks it can be given if they are willing; sir Edw. Seym. speaks doubtfully, so does Lord Stuard.

† Lord Com. Trevor thinks even a general excise would turn to account the first year.

great judgment, whether it be not more adviſeable for him to fall upon ſome new meaſures that may be leſs expenſive to the nation, than to ſett his whole ſtreſs, and employ all his credit to purſue thoſe were taken laſt year, when there is ſo little appearance of ſucceſs; for then may they who probably wiſh ill to the government, find great advantages if they ſhall be able to defeat what is found to be his Majeſty's chief deſign to bring to paſs *. It is not forgot here, that the falling off from any preparations leſs than thoſe made the laſt year, may diſhearten the confederates, and make them who are poſſibly enough diſpoſed to it, the more ready to think of providing ſeparately for themſelves; on which account all due care ſhould be had to give them ſatisfaction, but if it ſhould appear there is an impoſſibility to prevail for the like ſupplys as were granted the laſt year, ſure the next beſt were for his Majeſty to prepare the allys by degrees, and diſpoſe his own affairs in good time, to fall upon things that it is more probable for him to ſucceed in: It would in all probability be for his Majeſty's ſervice here at home, and a great diſappointment to the deſigns of his enemiee, that it might be underſtood here in the parliament, that his Majeſty is very ſenſible of the great burthens his people lye under; that he is not ſo much concerned for this or that particular way of carrying on the war, provided it be done in ſuch a manner as may encourage and ſupport his allys, and particularly if an army of ſo many thouſand men (the pay of which to be in ſo great a proportion carried over and ſpent in a foreign country, is one of the greateſt and moſt ſenſible grievances) be not ſuitable to the intereſt of England†, nor to be ſupported but by too great a waſting of their ſubſtance, they would in that caſe provide for encreaſing the fleet, and let the expence the States

* Lord Privy Seal ſays, if the allies did ſuſpect we were ſetting up only for our own defence, they would ſhift for themſelves, and then we were all undone. That he thinks if the allies could make a defenſive war only, and you make a great deſcent into France, the parliament would give any thing, or if that could not be done, that then you ſhould let them know that you would take care the money ſhould circulate as much as may be here, by buying bread, cloth; and all that was poſſible to be bought here at home.

† This propoſal of the increaſing the fleet in the manner, lord privy ſeal Nott. and Cornwallis ſay, is the moſt pernicious thing in the

States were at on that head, be turned to pay a proportion of the king's land forces; in a word, without entering into more particulars, if it might be underſtood in general, that his Majeſty is willing and deſirous to enter into any meaſures that are ſuitable to the humour and temper of the nation that can poſſibly ſupport the true intereſt and greatneſs of it, that his Majeſty's chief care and deſign is to bring it out of this very expenſive war, into an honourable and ſafe peace by all the means he or they can think of, and by the hazard of his own royal perſon, without preſcribing to them at this time the particular meaſures and expences they muſt be at in obtaining it *; this ſeems at preſent to be the beſt, if not the only way to diſappoint a great many ill contrivances to diſcompoſe his Majeſty's affairs, and to carry on the ſervice for one year more, which is enough to be aimed at for the preſent †, all which being offered with ſincerity and duty, it is hoped will need no other apology for a very well meant preſumption: there is one word more to be added, which would not be done but that there is need of it from an opinion ſome men have taken care to publiſh, that the king does not take the people of England to feel what they pay, and that they could pay a great deal more, if they were well preſſed to it: to which may be anſwered, that they never did yet in any time pay ſo much in a few years, and therefore it may be apprehended that a further preſſing upon them might end in a general ill-will to the government, and an inclination to change it for any other they could meet with: WHICH GOD FORBID."

Whitehall, Aug. 16, 1692.

world—by laying the blame on you, as though you did it to favour the Dutch, beſides the impoſſibility of it, as having not ſhips enough, nor men, unleſs we ſtop even the craft trade; but I hear the firſt has a little changed his mind, which he is apt to do, and lord com. Trevor laughs at it.

* I can't help ſaying it ſeems to me like ſitting ſtill, and letting the French King take what he will; but I hope it won't be in the power of the parliament to make lord Rocheſter in the right in this, as he proved by Mr. Ruſſel doing nothing, for he would at firſt have had thoſe deſigns laid aſide which have been fruſtrated by thoſe who ſhould have excuſed them.

† As lord Roch. means very well I dare ſay in what he writes, ſo I hope to be excuſed for this ſcribbling on it, but I could not help it, having in my mind as I read this over, what others had ſaid to me; and I took this to be the ſhorteſt way of telling it.

I publiſh this laſt letter in juſtice to the memory of King William. He has been complained of for near a century paſt for having confined the war to the confines of Holland, and neglected the natural ſtrength of England by not exerting it in a ſea war againſt France. But one of the marginal notes to this letter ſhows, that if there was a fault, it lay at the door of his Engliſh miniſters.

It is pleaſing in peruſing moſt of the above letters to King William, to obſerve the degree almoſt of equality, with which he who was conſcious that true ſuperiority conſiſts not in trifles, permitted his ſubjects to approach him in their letters.

Although the following letter (which I found in King William's box) from the marquiſs of Normanby to him, does not lie within the period of time to which this Appendix is confined, I cannot help publiſhing it, becauſe a reader will hardly know which moſt to wonder at, the ſpirit of an Engliſh nobleman who could write ſuch a letter to his ſovereign, or the generoſity of the ſovereign who could forgive it. Lord Mulgrave had been brought into court upon the promiſe of a marquiſs's title, a penſion of 3000 *l.* a year, a ſeat at the council board, and participation of the cabinet. King William kept the three firſt parts of the promiſe, but forgot the laſt. The marquis upon this wrote him the following letter, and immediately got redreſs.

The

The marquiſs of Normanby to King William.

London, June 19, 1694.

"I BEG Your Majeſty's pardon once more, for troubling you upon ſo trifling a ſubject as myſelf, though I muſt own a ſacred promiſe from a king is of no ſmall importance. But the occaſion of my approaching Your Majeſty again this way, after I held myſelf obliged to take my leave humbly for ever, is a diſcourſe I had the honour to have with the queen yeſterday, by which I find all my juſt grievance capable of being redreſſed in one word from Your Majeſty, that I ſhould meet with the keeper, preſident, privy ſeal, and ſecretaryes when they are aſſembled. Now, ſir, this very way of their meeting with myſelf, was my own propoſal to Your Majeſty, when you were pleaſed to adviſe with me about thoſe methods, and when you were ſo partial as to think me ſo much more aſſiduous than the white-ſtafs, as to leave them out at the ſame time; which I neither did or do deſire, but only that I ſhould not ſuffer on their account by an excluſion plainly contrary to your promiſe, as well as to reaſon and the nature of buſineſs; for how is it poſſible to adviſe the queen, without being acquainted with all things and letters communicated to that meeting? I did take upon me to propoſe that ſome more probable attempt ſhould be made immediately on the French, and not let 40 ſhips and 6000 men lie idle; but when the queen aſked me what; how could I anſwer, without being ſo well informed of all as others are? For though I believe very good propoſals may be made, ſuch as it were a ſhame to let ſlip; yet till I am let into the ſame knowledge with others, that which may now ſeem reaſonable, may, for ought I know, be

ridiculous and unpracticable. Thus, sir, you see the inconvenience of the present method, which yet I submit to, if not excluded out of it: since it is a real cabinet without the name, nay called so generally now; and there was no other in all the late King's times; out of which too the privy seal, lord Anglesea, was ever excluded; so that it does not go now according to places, since he is in it, without having a right, while I am out, to whom Your Majesty assured it most solemnly and frequently, once I remember with this expression, that we were composed better than formerly, and persons who could at least draw together in your business: whereas now instead of that, I cannot be thought one who draws, but one who is drag'd behind every body else. Your Majesty is and ought to be the master, to use me as you please; but I beg leave to say with all due submission, that this usage, if continued, is not only below so great a king, to impose after all assurances to the contrary, by which I was brought to the council, because I depended upon them; but it is even below me the meanest of your subjects, to acquiesce in farther than patience and my duty oblige me. I am,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most obedient subject, and servant,

NORMANBY."

One quits the character of King William with reluctance. There was a simplicity, an elevation, and an utility in all the actions of his life. The last treaty which he signed, was the grand alliance; the last act of parliament that he passed, was one which compleated the security of the Hanover succession; and the last message which he sent to parliament, while he was in a manner expiring, was to recommend an union between two

two parts of the iſland, which too long had been divided. To him mankind owe the ſingular ſpectacle of a monarchy, in which the monarch derives a degree of greatneſs and ſecurity from the freedom of his people which treaſures and arms cannot beſtow upon other princes; and that, at a time, when a military government is extending its ſtrides over every other part of Europe, there is ſtill one country left, in which it is worth the while of a man to wiſh to live *.

It was the hard fate of King William, that to ſave liberty, religion, Holland, England, and all Europe except France, he was obliged to injure the relations of nature. Could his heart have been looked into, perhaps it might have been found that he felt the cruelty of this neceſſity much more than thoſe who complain of him for not reſiſting it. I have ſeen an original letter from lord Portland to King William, after the peace of Ryſwick, in which he informs him, that according to his orders, he had offered a penſion of 50,000*l.* a year to King James; and this was at a time when it was far from being as certain as it is now, that that prince had not employed aſſaſſins to murder him.

King William received much bad uſage from that nation he had ſaved. He bore it all, ſteady to the great general good, unfeeling only to the injuries done to himſelf. But it is dangerous to preſs too hard upon a virtuous prince, becauſe then his very virtues become dreadful. A well vouched tradition reports, that once, though only once, King William loſt his temper in government. After the peace of Ryſwick, he ſent a

* In the courſe of two years we have ſeen the conſtitutions of France, Sweden and Poland, overturned, and reduced to military governments. Perhaps the greateſt ſtrokes that were ever given to human nature in ſo ſmall a ſpace of time.

meſſage

meſſage to the houſe of commons, requeſting as a perſonal favour to himſelf, that his regiment of Dutch guards, the companions of all his dangers and glories, ſhould not be obliged to leave him. The commons refuſed his deſire. When the account of it was brought him, he walked for ſome time ſilent through the apartment, with his eyes fixed on the ground, then ſtopped, threw them around with wildneſs, and ſaid, "If I had a ſon, by God theſe guards ſhould not quit me."

FINIS

ERRATA et ADDENDA.

Appendix to Review.

Page. 118 Twelve lines from the bottom, for *grana* read *Grave.*

297. Twelve lines from the end, for *then*, read *thus.*

390. Eight lines from the bottom, for 77, read 67.

Part I.

Page 75. Line 5 from the bottom, for *his*, read *Prince's.*

Part II.

Page 91. Line 13, for *Duke*, read *Marquiſs.*

209. Line 2, for *General*, read *there.*

In page 16 and page 89, there is a memorandum and letter, ſaid to have been lord Nottingham's. Theſe are not in his lordſhip's hand-writing. My ingenious and polite friend, Doctor Percy, from whom I got them, gave me the following note concerning them:

"From Remarks on Langbaine's Lives of the Dramatic Poets, in MS. by William Oldys, late Norroy King at Arms."

"In a note on page 171. *Dryden's Spaniſh Friar*, &c.

"Remem. The curious letter I have in MS. of my lord "Nottingham's, upon Queen Mary's diſordered behaviour, and "obſervable confuſion at ſome ſtinging ſpeeches in this play, "&c."—The above letter was in Mr. Oldys's poſſeſſion.

"Theſe remarks are preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, being left, among other books, to that library, by the late Doctor Birch."